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THE
ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE
IN ITALY

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

A GENERAL VIEW FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS AND OTHERS

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THE GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART

WITH FIFTY-FOUR COLLOTYPE AND OTHER PLATES

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PREFACE

THE full title perhaps sufficiently sets forth the subject of this book, and what I conceive to be its proper destination. But it may be well to explain that it owes its existence to the Governors of the School of Art in this city, who some years ago requested me to prepare a series of lectures on the subject, which were duly delivered in the Corporation Galleries. Of these lectures, seven in number, the present volume comprises five, the introductory discourses on Ancient Rome and Mediæval Italy being relinquished, and their place supplied by a short introductory chapter. In delivery, while primarily intended for students of the school, they were not confined to this class, and a rudimentary and semi-popular character may still linger in the work, which has undergone only the changes that seemed essential to its new form. That it may be acceptable to the wider circle is my hope, believing that a public which is interested in Italy, its painting, its literature, its history, cannot be, and is not wholly indifferent to those works which, apart from their attraction of beauty, give of all others the most impressive view of the genius of a people, and, when understood, clothe with the most realisable character the daily life and work and thought of a bygone race. Much has been urged against the teaching of architectural history to students, but only by those who have failed to grasp the true inwardness of the development. For if the work of modern architects, or some of them, takes a high place among that of other art workers, it is largely because they are more thoroughly and effectively steeped in the traditions of an art which is greater than man's little span of life and achievement. Hence, while deeply conscious of the feebleness of my slight sketch, I feel convinced that no reasonable objection can be taken to

its purpose as a contribution to the teaching of the traditions of the Western arts of design, as these took form in Italy. In a profound sense, we are all Romans, as our language, religion, law, literature, and arts remind us, and have besides a large community of interest with the country which has been the leader and teacher of civilization to modern Europe.

Students whose researches have led them into the study of particular buildings, particular architects, or particular periods, will find the treatment of their special subject inadequate, but will recognise that more thorough analysis had to be subordinate to the principal aim of giving a view of the whole, suited to the needs of the average English-speaking young architect. I have often been asked to recommend such a book, and felt the need of it myself not so many years ago, when endeavouring to form some conception of what was meant by Renaissance architecture, and to distinguish its different phases. Should my studies be the means of smoothing the path or saving the time of any student it will be a source of gratification to me, believing that since the study of the historical styles of architecture, or of its traditions, has assumed a rightful place as an essential branch of an architect's elementary education, it is important that inexpensive books dealing with each department concisely, yet in sufficient detail, should be accessible to him. The extent and variety of his whole training is so great that a special or complete study of a style by travel or by consultation of numerous authorities, is impossible in most cases. In Mr. Batsford I was fortunate in finding a publisher in agreement with my views, especially as to the necessity for a full illustration of the subject; and the liberality with which this most important part of the scheme has been carried out gives me a measure of confidence in the work, and a satisfaction that I do not possess in the other part of it. Many of the plates and blocks are reductions of my own drawings, some from measurements taken in Italy, which have already appeared in a small folio volume. The drawings of the entrance loggia of the Palazzo Massimi,

measured by myself in Rome, have been specially prepared for this book. Others have been borrowed from various large folio works, the source being duly acknowledged, while the majority are photographs from the buildings themselves, the most satisfactory presentments of architecture. Readers whose tastes or circumstances incline them to a more extended study of the numberless works of the age, or of any period of it, will find ample material in the second division of the appended list of selected books, should even a few of these be within reach.

English writers who treat of the Italian Renaissance architecture, by a curious process of unnatural selection, concern themselves chiefly with the later periods. Fergusson, for instance, in his notable *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, devotes the greater part of his criticism and about half of the illustrations to the works of the time of Vignola and thereafter, while the history in Gwilt's *Encyclopædia of Architecture* contains not a single word which would lead one to believe in the existence of one of the buildings described in Chapter III. of this book. In view of this, I have been led in another direction, and, while relegating Vignola and Palladio and the barocco school to the last chapter, have devoted four-fifths of the space at my disposal to the early and culminating periods: a division that appeared to me to be most advantageous for purposes which are more descriptive and historical than critical.

W. J. A.

GLASGOW,
September 12th, 1896.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

In the art history of the different countries emerging from the ancient Roman Empire of the West, the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a general phenomenon. Its nature as in great measure a recovery of Roman principles and methods, and its limitation to the Latino-Teutonic nations, demonstrate its racial character and signification. For great races have always expressed themselves in their architecture in distinct fashion, and may often be better identified and classified by their arts than by their language. The ancient Egyptians and the Chinese scarcely maintained with more obstinacy the character of their arts and civilisation than the nations who came under the sway of Imperial Rome have conformed to the type of its architecture. Certainly the higher mental activity and adaptability of the Aryan race, joined to the disturbance caused by Northern Teutonic elements out of sympathy with the Roman, has brought about a more frequent and further divergence from the established type than anything in the history of Egyptian and Oriental art. The brilliant mediæval or Gothic period in Europe is the most notable example of such divergence, ending as the strength of the Roman element in race, literature, and sentiment asserted itself, first in Tuscany, but involving the four corners of Europe in its rising flood The

Renaissance was, in fact, a reversion to type, if a biological expression may be applied in this connection without confusion; and this recurrence rather than permanence of type appears to be characteristic of European civilisation, so far as we have had experience of it in some two thousand years. In this view of it the historical architecture of Europe is one complete whole to this day: its main characteristic features the combination of Greek column and lintel with Etruscan arch, pediment, and dome. Its mouldings still show to trained eyes their wooden origins, though a stone character has been gradually impressed upon them. European architecture is a variety as distinct as the Egyptian or the Arabian, and in a corresponding degree a racial expression, pointing, if not to the identity of the origin of Romano-Germanic peoples, at least to their now essential unity. As the scope of this book is limited to the Renaissance of architecture in Italy, a corner of the field, at a particular period of time, it must have an incompleteness of character and a littleness of design in relation to the whole. But in the Italy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find the clearest and most emphatic expression of this European type; for precisely in relation to the strength or weakness of the Roman element, so the perfection or imperfection of the reversion to Roman character in design and selection. It is supposed that the student who takes up the study of the Renaissance will be to some degree familiar with the ancient Roman architecture, otherwise it will be difficult for him to realise its meaning or enter into the spirit which animates it. Almost equally essential to a proper understanding of the revival is an acquaintance with the Romanesque and Italian Gothic styles, in the variations of which there is a vivid picture of the struggle of the races which peopled Italy in the mediæval period. St. Mark's, Venice; Sant' Ambrogio, Milan; Pisa Cathedral, and San Miniato, Florence, are, for example, contemporary churches, Byzantine, Lombard, Romanesque: without the slightest cohesion of style, except in so far as they represent the modifications exercised by different peoples upon the Latin element which lay underneath, and which in the fifteenth century found, in the revivification of purely Roman principles, the only outlet which was congenial to it. The necessity for the study of the interval separating the Roman era from the Italian revival may not be so apparent, seeing that it is generally believed that the

Italians of the fifteenth century took up architecture at the point where the ancients laid it down. This they did eventually, but any such view of the origin of the Renaissance art is not only incomplete, but wrong. Though the suddenness of the change and the sharpness of the cleavage may have been unparalleled in history, it was impossible that hand and eye and mind should not have been unconsciously, even unwillingly, tenacious of what had been their habit through generations. Renaissance architecture had a long experimental career before any approach to such buildings as the Colosseum was arrived at, and was modified throughout very materially by all the work of the mediæval period. The Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may have been a supersession of the mediæval population presenting distinct characteristics, but they were at the same time the product of that stock, and in corresponding degree was their architecture related to what had preceded it. The paganism with which they are charged was little more than a veneer of learning, a superficial gloss, which scarcely serves to veil the essentially Christian destination and expression of the great mass of the work of the early and formative period.

For the ethnographic standpoint, though possibly the highest vantage ground, giving the broadest outlook on the world's architecture or any part of it, is, after all, only one of many scientific aspects in which architecture may be viewed retrospectively. Regarded as the history of the period and the people, written in stone for present and future ages, the architecture of the Italian Renaissance is one of the most luminous of all histories. By the operation of the universal law of natural selection, it has registered the awakened enthusiasm of the time for what was glorious and beautiful in the ancient world, the enlarged consciousness of its free-will, and the possibilities of human life and effort; while it records on the very face of it, so that he who runs may read, the habits of the people, the condition and nature of trades, commerce and arts, and the character and varying power of the governments of the Peninsula. And yet we are asked to believe, on high authority, that while the course of true architecture ran smoothly from prehistoric times to the end of the Gothic period, one style supplanting another in natural order, it there ended, and copyism or resuscitation of dead and unmeaning forms began and has

since continued.* In other words, that the harmony which ever subsists between the conditions of man and his intellectual productions was suspended by human volition about the fifteenth century, and that architecture has from that time failed to be a natural issue of a people's civilisation and a record of a nation's history. In the face of much that is written, not only of Renaissance but of modern work, it is necessary to contest this widespread view, fostered by great teachers like Ruskin and Fergusson, and to emphasise the continued veracity of architectural history through changing circumstances. We err even if we regard the Renaissance epoch as the first time that men looked back to emulate and imitate. A little study would probably show that the Ptolemaic era in Egypt was a renaissance of the Theban age, in architecture as in other respects, while the golden period of Augustus in Rome was largely a Greek revival. Perhaps it would even be discovered that all ages of healthy human prosperity are more or less revivals, and have been marked by a retrospective tendency. History and historical poetry have had power in all ages, perhaps not in much greater degree at the Renaissance or in modern days than in the time of Thucydides. The Italian Renaissance has been claimed as a result of the influence of literature; but literature, while sustaining it in its decline and fall, had scarcely more influence on its origin than the writings of Virgil, Horace, Livy, and Ovid had on the architecture of the Augustan age they adorned. There is thus little justification for the separate classification of the Renaissance as an imitative style in contradistinction to the "true" styles of classic or mediæval times. It was unquestionably an embodiment of the temper of the time, and it was precisely on that ground that it had life and became so important a part of the world's architectural history. It is true with regard to the details or materials of its composition that in the Roman Forum, on the Palatine Hill, or among the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, one may find not merely the prototypes, but the approximate forms, nearly every feature which goes to compose the church or palace built fourteen or fifteen centuries afterwards. With as much truth, however, may it be

* In opening his *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, which comprises an account of the Italian Renaissance, Mr. Fergusson says that they "may be designated the Copying or Imitative Styles of Architectural Art," that in them "the element of truthfulness is altogether wanting;" that "the art has, also, in modern times, lost all ethnographic signification."

said that originality has never been displayed to greater degree than by the architects of the Early Italian Renaissance, and that considered in relation to the previous direction of all architectural effort for centuries, the interiors of the Capella dei Pazzi, San Lorenzo, and Santo Spirito—all churches of Brunelleschi—are real works of genius. The component parts of each certainly are borrowed, but by successive architects and workmen the features and details of Romanesque and Gothic architecture were also transcribed: they were, so to speak, in stock; and Brunelleschi, seeing the confusion and incoherency of the work of his time, went farther afield for his architectural technic to find it in the ancient principles of building, laying the foundation of a great revival by his masterly use of them, while fully satisfying immediate requirements. In every way it becomes clear that those who consider the architecture of the Renaissance as merely an imitative style, and place it in a different category from all that precedes it, do so with a little truth and more error. If the Italians of the fifteenth century took the Roman forms and details as a basis they built up a new style as different from the Roman as the Roman was from the Greek. There is, for example, a far wider gap between the Renaissance church and the Roman temple than between the Roman and the Grecian temples; and such buildings as the Palazzi Strozzi or Grimani are unique, and have no relation of an imitative kind to anything of classic times. Although the Renaissance degenerated into something like formal copyism, and died in affectation, that does not affect the argument. Rather it enforces it, because it is an indication that a style which ceases to conform to the spirit and requirements of the age is foredoomed, and suppressed by a natural law. The earlier works bear no trace of this insincerity, and it is by them and those of the culminating period that the style must be judged.

When it is once realised that a certain phase of architecture is the outcome of complex social, historic, and geographic conditions, there is less readiness in assigning a simple reason for its existence. On the one hand, we have the personality of the artist moving apparently in some measure of freedom and choice, and on the other, the environment which largely disposes the forms of his expression as well as the nature of his opportunity. Now the environment, or combination of causes, which, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, served to

produce the revival in architecture, included among many others the following causes, apart from the factors of race qualifications and sympathies:—the predominance of the Christian religion, itself a dissemination from Rome, in the forms of the Roman Catholic Church; a tendency on the part of littérateurs to the study of the ancient authors, efforts being made for the preservation and interpretation of ancient manuscripts; the existence in many parts of Italy, in a tolerably preserved state, of the principal monuments of the great empire with which this literature was associated; a highly organised municipal life, the chief cities of Italy being practically independent nations; a prosperous condition of commerce and trade, and of all the sciences and minor arts; the practice of a style of architecture introduced from a foreign country, never rationalized, and hastening to its fall. These conditions given, the consequence appears clear enough to us, who know what did actually happen. Nevertheless it required a great personality like Brunelleschi, who, of the time and circumstances, yet rose superior to them, to lay the foundation of the revival of the arts. In the greater intensity, and therefore importance, of the individuality of the artist, lies one of the chief distinctions of Renaissance architecture when contrasted with that of classic or mediæval periods, but this should be regarded as essentially the outcome of the temper of the times. Men were striving on all hands to wrest the secrets from nature, and the new scientific discoveries were enlarging the sphere of each man's vision and imagination. There were giants in those days, and rarely have great men shown more intellectual daring, more determination, and more devotion. We must not dwell solely on the art of the epoch if we want to have adequate ideas of the time. Petrarch, Boccaccio, John of Ravenna, in literature; Galileo and Copernicus in astronomy and natural science; in law, the revival of Roman jurisprudence; the invention of printing:—are all parts of this great movement, some of the most important and abiding results of which were the disclosing by Copernicus of the secrets of the solar system in 1507, and the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492. The Reformation in religion, moreover, was another result of this awakening, and an outcome of the same earnest spirit. And so, in Brunelleschi's resolution to acquire the Roman principles and to build upon them, we have just a distinctive circumstance, unprecedented

in the world's history, it may be, but in its audacity quite characteristic of the deeds of the time. In its own way it involved as much uncertainty as the voyage of Columbus, and was indicative of the same inquiring and unsatisfied tendency. Brunelleschi, too, disclosed a hidden world, and in the most brilliant way. His discovery was not fraught with the material consequences of that of the mariner, nor the scientific results of that of the astronomer, but it has had an incalculable influence upon all forms of art production to this day. First in time, he was not second in intellect, in pertinacity, in achievement; and wherever the arts of form are understood and beloved, the genius of Brunelleschi will not fail of admiration.

EARLY PERIOD 1420—1525.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN FLORENCE (1401—1500).

ORIGIN OF RENAISSANCE ART DISCOVERED BY SOME IN THE NATURALISTIC SCULPTURE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY—BRUNELLESCHI'S FIRST WORK THE NATURAL LINE OF DEMARCATION—THE INTELLECTUAL EMINENCE OF FLORENCE—INCIDENTS OF ITS HISTORY DURING FIFTEENTH CENTURY—HOW IT CAME TO DOMINATE ROME—THE FAMOUS COMPETITION FOR THE BAPTISTERY DOORS—BRUNELLESCHI STUDIES IN ROME WITH DONATELLO—THE DOME OF S. MARIA DEL FIORE—THE DEEPER FOUNDATIONS OF THE REVIVAL—THE EARLIEST NEO-CLASSICAL BUILDING—THE METHODS OF BRUNELLESCHI, ILLUSTRATED BY PAZZI CHAPEL AND SACRISTY OF S. LORENZO—THE CHURCHES OF S. LORENZO AND S. SPIRITO—DOORWAYS IN CLOISTER OF S. CROCE AND BADIA DI FIESOLE—LOGGIA OF SS. ANNUNZIATA AND FOUNDLING HOSPITAL, EXAMPLES OF FLORENTINE COLUMNAR ARCADE—THE PALAZZI PITTI, ANTINORI, MEDICI, AND STROZZI—THE BOTTEGA OF THE ITALIAN ARTIST—NATURE OF THE TRAINING AFFORDED—INFLUENCE OF JEWEL FORMS AND GOLDSMITH WORK—GOLDSMITH SCULPTORS—JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA—GHIBERTI AND HIS GATES—LUCA DELLA ROBBIA'S VITRIFIED EARTHENWARE—DONATELLO'S SCULPTURE—SUCCEEDING SCHOOL OF SCULPTOR-ARCHITECTS AND THEIR WORKS—PULPITS AT LUCCA AND S. CROCE—LORENZO DE' MEDICI'S ACADEMY OF THE ANTIQUE—ITS DISTINGUISHED PUPILS—LEO BATTISTA ALBERTI—HIS LATIN PROCLIVITIES—THE PAL. RUCCELAI AND OTHER WORKS—SACRISTY OF S. SPIRITO AND ITS VESTIBULE—VASARI'S CRITICISM THEREOF—ANDREA SANSOVINO—S. SALVATOR DEL MONTE—ITS RUSTICITY—THE FLORENTINE WORK AS A WHOLE—AFFECTED BY ROMANESQUE AND GOTHIC—THE COMPOSITE ARCADE OF THE PERIOD—AN ARCUATED STYLE—MORE AN ETRUSCAN REVIVAL THAN A ROMAN ONE—GRECIAN SENSE OF REFINEMENT—REJECTION OF COLOUR EFFECTS—SGRAFFITO DECORATION—FLORENTINE INFLUENCE AT ROME AND SIENA.

THE CATHEDRAL (SANTA MARIA DEL FIORE), FLORENCE.

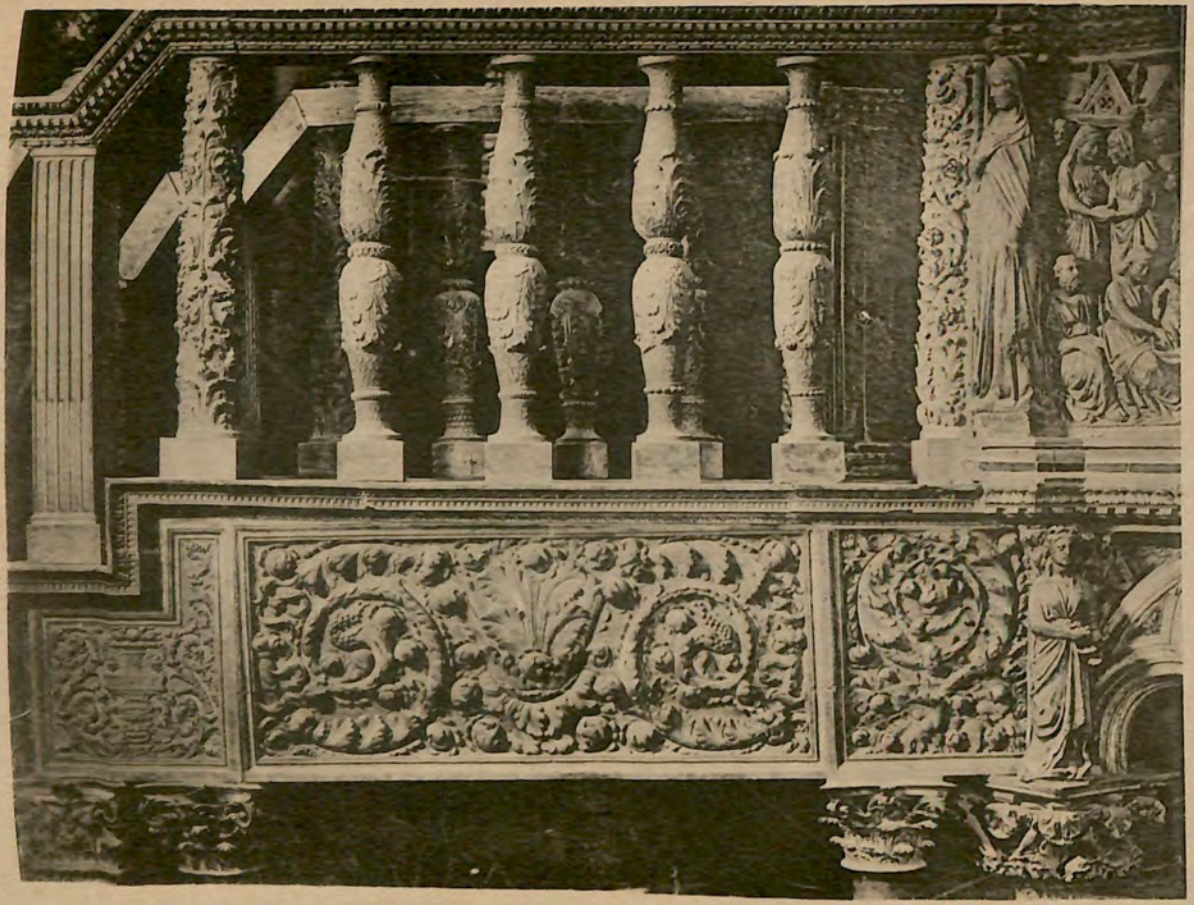
CHAPTER II.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN FLORENCE.

In speaking of the origin of the Renaissance in Italy, architects generally think of the early years of the fifteenth century, when, through the powerful individuality of Filippo Brunelleschi (1379—1446), the ancient Greek and Roman forms were successfully resuscitated in architecture. To sculptors and painters and other artists, the term has often a wider meaning, and carries them back to the days of Giotto, Orcagna, and Niccola da Pisa. Certainly there was much in the spirit of the work of such men which distinguishes them from the contemporary thirteenth and fourteenth century Gothic artists of the North, just as there was much in the social and political condition of mediæval dis-united Italy, which separated it from the feudalism of the Northern peoples. With the monks and the mediæval architects of France and England, the artists of the Italian free cities had little in common. Their work all through the middle ages was more independent and varied, less logically consecutive or traditional, and not without evidence of appreciative study of the ancient arts, from the influence of which, in Italy, they could scarcely escape, had they even desired to do so. Especially is this tendency to be noticed in the sculptural works of Niccola and Andrea Pisani, and with greater development in the first Ghiberti gate of the Baptistery of Florence, a few years before Brunelleschi's architectural career opened. But there was no classic revival in this, and when sculptors and ornamentists talk of *Trecento*, or fourteenth century, *Renaissance* ornament, they set up a claim, on behalf of their branch of art, to the origin of the movement, for which there is little justification. It is true that a tendency towards imitation or copyism of nature makes itself evident in the sculpture of that period. This may be regarded as a necessary preparation for the development which ensued, but the line between the Italianised naturalistic Gothic and the classical revival may be drawn

between the two gates of Ghiberti; and Donatello, Brunelleschi's friend and follower, was the first to show true sculptural feeling. Of course it depends upon what is understood by the term *Renaissance*. If merely a re-birth of interest, a clearer insight into nature is understood, then we may cheerfully yield to the sculptors the credit of the origin of the movement; but if besides this we understand it to include (as architects always have done) the tendency to the *revival* of *classic* forms and principles, then the architectural demarcation is correct which dates the Renaissance from the beginning of Brunelleschi's remarkable life and labours. To him the architecture of the time may even be said to owe its birth and the whole bent of its early development, while his influence on the allied arts was greater and more entirely effective than any protest in favour of the antique which had been made before. The art traditions of the middle ages, such as they were in Italy, may have been broken by the departure of Niccola Pisano (who simply adapted ancient sarcophagi), but with the erection of such buildings as the church of San Lorenzo and the Palazzo Ruccelai they died, and Gothic sculpture and painting became impossible.

It was in accordance with the fitness of things that this rejuvenation should emanate from Florence, which at the time was intellectually the most influential state in Italy, though by no means the greatest or most powerful in a political sense. Fortunate in its central situation, it attained an authority in the councils of Italy out of proportion to its military strength, and carried on, at the period that concerns us, an important foreign trade with Alexandria and the East. Its civic and political history during the fifteenth century, in so far as it can be detached from that which constituted its glory and subsequent eminence, its production in painting, sculpture, and architecture, is that of a prosperous, free, and progressive community, possessing a sphere of influence not limited to the city nor its immediate surroundings, and governed by a Council of representatives of companies of the trades or arts. Its domestic security was only disturbed by internal feuds, the most serious of which took the form of conspiracies against the influence of the Medici, who, from Giovanni de' Medici to his great-grandson Lorenzo il Magnifico, may almost be said to have piloted the ship of State. Incidents which have direct and indirect bearing on our subject may be briefly recounted.



PART OF THE PULPIT IN SIENA CATHEDRAL, WITH RENAISSANCE BALUSTRADE.

[NICCOLA PISANO, *Archt.* 13th Century.

BARTOLO NEGRONI (RICCIO), *Archt.* 16th Century.]

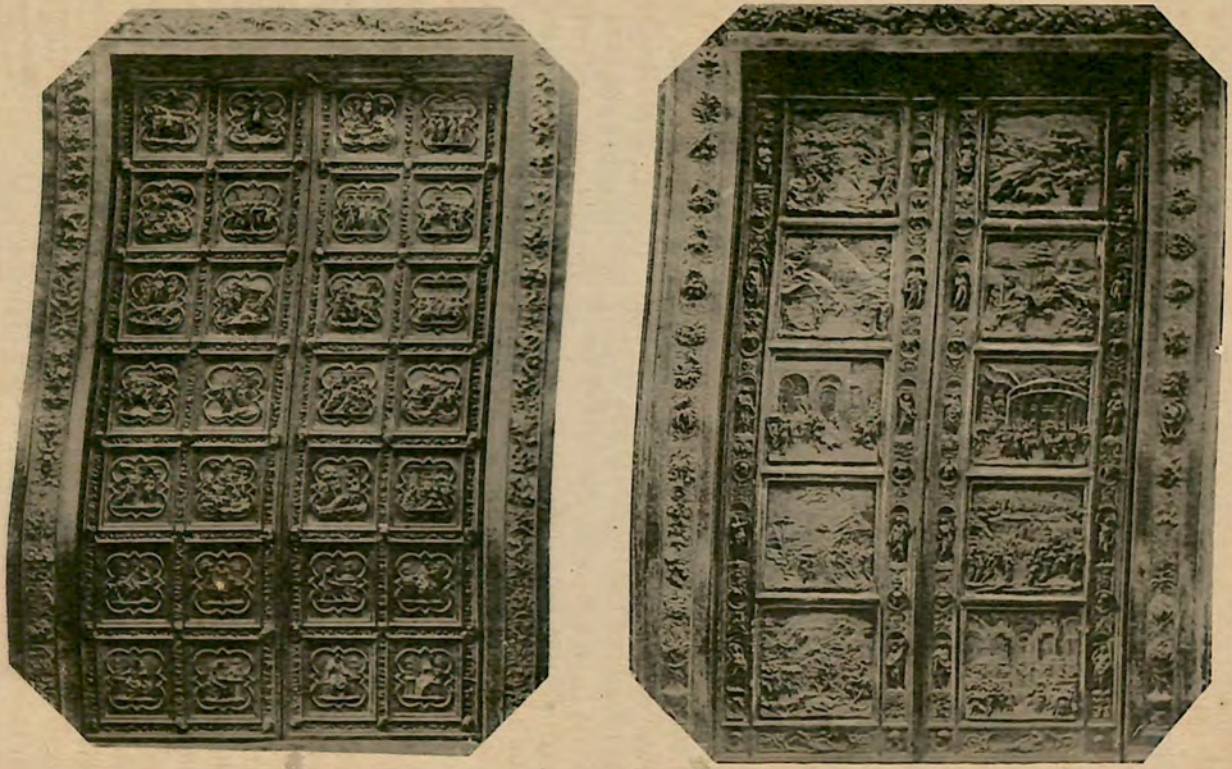
The century opened tranquilly, but a long and costly war (1422—28) with the Duke of Milan depleted the treasury and produced disunion, and resulted, moreover, in the extension of the territory of the Venetians, who had come to the assistance of Florence. Passing over an insurrection at Volterra and a war with Lucca (1431), in which Brunelleschi played the part of military strategist, flooding the country, but without success,* there occurred in 1433 the conspiracy of the Albizzi, directed against Cosmo de' Medici, the son of Giovanni. This was so far successful that Cosmo was banished to Padua, afterwards being permitted to reside in Venice, where he was accompanied in exile by Michelozzo, the architect, who on his behalf made drawings of the more important buildings there, and assisted in founding a library. The see-saw of party favour brought the *fuorusciti* back to Florence in twelve months, and in 1438 the Ferrara Council of Eugenius IV., convened to unite the Greek and Roman Churches, was transferred to Florence, and Cosmo was able to receive the Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, thus opening up a correspondence with Constantinople, which was not broken off even with its conquest by the Turks. The decline of the Eastern Empire, at that time crumbling to pieces as plainly as the power which succeeded it is daily decaying, afforded opportunities for the acquirement of Greek manuscripts and relics of which Cosmo was not slow to take advantage. To Cosmo Florence owes the establishment of the library, which, after certain vicissitudes, became known as the *Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurentiana*, and his librarian at another library in San Marco became Pope Nicholas V., to whom Rome owed what of the new life it acquired towards the middle of the century. Besides Michelozzo, Cosmo employed Brunelleschi and Donatello, warmly recognising their genius, and was patron of the eminent Masaccio and the too amorous Fra Filippo Lippi.† Lorenzo, the grandson of Cosmo, at an early age takes even a larger place in the Florentine councils, and from the time of the death of his father, Piero, in 1469, becomes identical in interest with the Republic, though remaining nominally a citizen. Some trouble arose out of the suppressed Pitti plot against his father, for the exiled party, having retired to Venice, succeeded in

* Machiavelli's *History of Florence.*
† Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici.*

turning the arms of that government against him. Under the General Bartolomeo Colleoni,* an undecisive battle was fought near Bologna, the Duke of Milan and King of Naples assisting Florence. The outstanding events of the remainder of the century consist of an alliance concluded in 1474 between the Duchy of Milan and the Republics of Venice and Florence (ostensibly for mutual defence against foreign powers, but in reality directed against the Pope and the King of Naples), and the disgraceful conspiracy of the Pazzi, in which the Pope (Sixtus IV.) was implicated. This matter immediately led to another war between Florence and the Pope, supported by the King of Naples, in which the Florentines were ultimately worsted, the diplomacy of Lorenzo effecting an honourable peace with the King (1479). The next year, the Turks having descended on Italy at Otranto, a league was formed by all the powers save Venice for defence, and the invaders capitulated. The league was then turned against Venice, which had attacked the dominion of the Duke of Ferrara, and after some fighting a peace succeeded (1484), concerning which Sixtus IV. is believed to have died in vexation.† The new Pope, Innocent VIII., and Lorenzo met on a more friendly footing, and the way was opened to the Medici to the highest offices of the church, with the most important ultimate results to the arts and fortunes of Rome, and, humanly speaking, to the destinies of European Christianity. Lorenzo died in 1492, and with him the great period of Florentine history ends. His son, Giovanni de' Medici, had been elected a Cardinal in 1488; but sharing the ill-fortune which his brother Piero, by his weakness in dealing with Charles VIII., had brought upon their family and country, was obliged frequently to absent himself from Rome and Florence. After a tour through Europe he returned to Rome about 1500, and was elected Pope in 1513, assuming the title of Leo X. In this way the influence of Florence became again ascendant at Rome, and brought in its train whatever culture and delight the pursuit of art and letters could confer; and this pontificate marks the culmination of European art. In Florence the period succeeding the death of Lorenzo, the closing years of the century, is notable for the commotions due to the entry of Charles VIII. of France, the wars about Pisa, and for the rising of Savonarola, who

* Page 65.

† Machiavelli's *History of Florence*.



BRONZE DOORS OF THE BAPTISTERY OF ST. JOHN, FLORENCE.

LORENZO GHIBERTI, *Sculpt.*

suffered death in 1498. The popular freedom was maintained till 1512, when the Medici were installed, and in 1530, after a long siege, Charles V. of Spain, "Emperor Elect of the Romans," created Alessandro de' Medici the First Duke of Florence. On his assassination in 1537, an allied family of the Medici established a dynasty.*

The well-known competition for the Baptistery doors in the first year of the fifteenth century may be a convenient point from which to trace the germination of *Renaissance* architecture. The goldsmiths and sculptors of Tuscany who took part in it were Jacopo della Quercia, Niccolo d' Arezzo, Francesco Val d' Ombrino, Simone da Colle, Niccolo Lamberti, Filippo Brunelleschi, and Lorenzo Ghiberti. The requirements were that each competitor should model a relief, in bronze, of a single panel, representing the offering up of Isaac; and a year was allowed for its completion. The general conception of the treatment of the doors appears to have been assumed, the lines of Andrea Pisano in an earlier gate (1330—36) of the Baptistery being closely followed, and the Gothic shape of the panel resembling that in the pilaster of the Bigallo loggia opposite. Possibly Brunelleschi would have arrived at a nobler design for the gate had the competition been on a different basis, but in the test panel Ghiberti was adjudged successful, and was ultimately entrusted with the work. Brunelleschi's group was in many respects a finer composition, but was of less excellence as a bronze casting, and received the second place. Though so capable in sculpture, the decision in this competition seems to have led Brunelleschi to try another path in which he might perhaps attain the undisputed supremacy his ambitious and somewhat exclusive nature craved. The story has often been told how he set out for Rome about the year 1403 with an admiring friend, Donato di Niccolo di Betti Bardi, afterwards known to fame as Donatello, a lad then just fifteen years old, and how, supporting himself as a goldsmith, he gave the most ardent attention for about four years to the buildings of the Roman Empire, with the view of gaining a grasp of the principles of the classical styles; and he can scarcely have too much honour for his courage and his foresight in taking a course so original—indeed, unheard of at that period. Returning to Florence he occupied his mind with the completion

* *Memoirs of* Benvenuto Cellini.

of the cathedral, a subject he had doubtless pondered at Rome, if it were not in some measure the cause of taking him thither. For the cathedral, begun by Arnolfo del Cambio about one hundred and twelve years before, and continued by Giotto and Francesco Talenti, was still in slow and desultory progress of erection. A council of architects had met in 1366 and fixed the shape of the choir and dome, but considerable indecision prevailed as to the best manner of covering the great octagonal opening and the three apses. The solution of the problem presented the congenial opportunity to Brunelleschi, who by all the influence he could command endeavoured to persuade the Council to carry out his ideas. It is said that nothing is denied to well directed effort, and everything comes to him who waits, so in 1420, and only then, when forty-three years old, Brunelleschi was appointed to carry out the work, after another commission of master-builders from different parts of Europe appears to have been held. At this historic meeting various wonderful schemes were propounded, as if it had been intended "to make a cupola for the whole terraqueous globe."* The greatest difficulty seemed to be entertained with regard to the scaffolding and centreing that was considered indispensable by every one save Brunelleschi, and the whimsical suggestion was actually made that the dome might be formed over a huge mound of earth raised from the floor of the cathedral, into which coins were to be put at intervals, that its ultimate removal might be effected by those who would seek for the money it contained. It was Brunelleschi's offer to construct the dome without centreing that weighed most with the authorities in appointing him, but so little trust did they put in him that Ghiberti, his successful rival of the gates, who had no architectural experience, and Battista d' Antonio were assigned him as colleagues. This arrangement was ill-adapted to Brunelleschi's temperament, and did not last very long, Ghiberti retiring to work at his second pair of gates (Plate 3). The dome was not entirely constructed till 1434, the difficulties being enormous and so many delays and annoyances ensuing that the fanciful Florentines produced the conceit that "the heavens were jealous of their dome, which bade fair to rival the beauty of the blue ethereal vault itself." Domes had been constructed not so long before

* Milizia's *Lives of Celebrated Architects.*

at Pisa, Siena, and at St. Mark's, Venice, but none of them on such a grand scale, the diameter being one hundred and thirty eight and a half feet, and the altitude of the dome itself one hundred and thirty-three feet, measured from the cornice of the drum to the eye of the dome. The difficulties of so large a construction were much increased by the adoption of the drum on which the dome is raised, and through which it is lighted, while an important step is thus made in the progress of dome-design. There is a separation between the inner and outer shell of the dome, but they are concentric, or nearly so. As the altitude of the dome in itself is too great for good proportion or decorative effects, the result might have been finer had the inner dome parted company from the outer with a shorter radius, but that would have increased the thrust at the top of the drum, which it was Brunelleschi's aim to reduce to a minimum; hence the acutely pointed form of both domes. The lantern was only completed in 1462, after his death, and the gallery round the drum on the outside only in our time; for the former, however, he left a model with instructions that it should be formed of heavy marble to prevent the cupola from opening, so indicating a wholesome anxiety as to the stability of his great achievement.

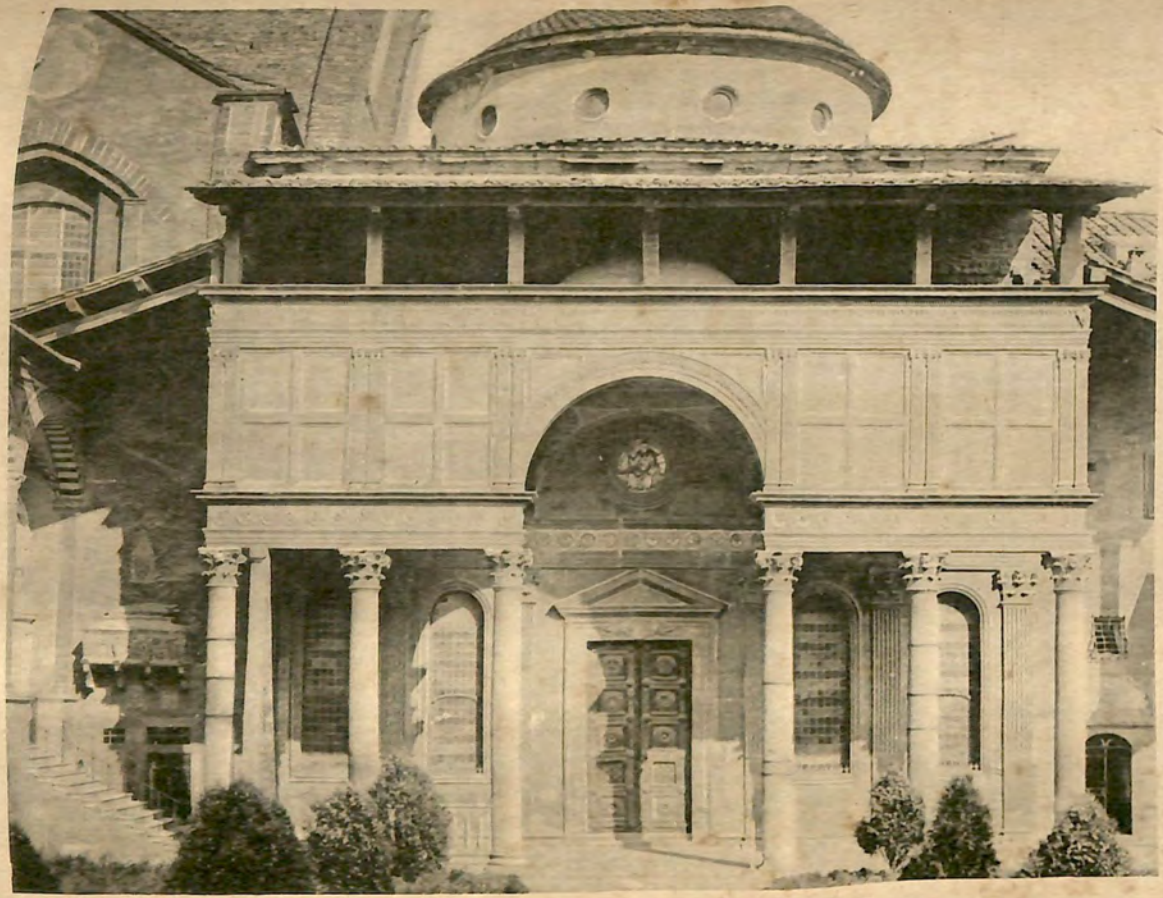
The dome (Plate 1) was the largest work of Brunelleschi's life, and for that reason merits attention in this connection, although it can claim little share in the creation of the revival. Brunelleschi laid the foundation of the Renaissance broader and deeper in smaller works, which he managed to execute while the dome was building.

LOGGIA OF PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE.
Brunelleschi, Archt.

One of his earliest works, about the year 1420, when he had been commissioned with the great dome, was the Pazzi Chapel,

probably the very first ecclesiastic building in a Renaissance style. The appearance of this structure is very remarkable (Plate 4). It is unmatched by any previous building that we know of, and none can contend that in this instance Brunelleschi was copying Roman work. The slightness of the angle supports of its portico is a serious weakness, loaded as they are by the blank upper storey rendered necessary by the central arch and the wagon vaulting of the loggia, and panelled in stucco, quaintly yet delicately treated. In its belvedere under the roof projection as well as in the treatment of the little dome of the loggia, and the shells in its pendentives, it anticipates Spanish treatments of nearly a hundred years later. On the exterior the larger dome of the chapel is simply covered by a conical roof. Brunelleschi here seems to have held his hand, having at the same time another and much greater opportunity. Peculiar to this earliest period are the row of paterae in the frieze, filled by cherub heads, executed by Donatello and Desiderio da Settignano, also the narrow double panel with varied running ornament in the soffits of both arches and architraves. In the capital one sees that no great refinement is attained, and that the leaf is of a crude type. As the first Corinthian capital for centuries however, it is wonderfully good, for it is not to be expected that Greek or Roman excellence would have been immediately achieved. The old Sacristy of San Lorenzo is a better example of the qualities of the Brunelleschian handling. The bevelled archivolt which surrounds the archways is simply the survival of the Italian Gothic round arch, with its mouldings in a bevelled plane or recessed

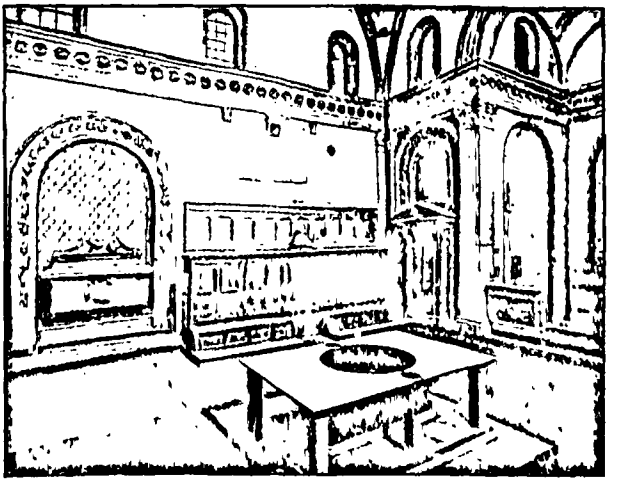
CAPITAL AND MEDALLION, PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE.
Brunelleschi, Archt.



THE PAZZI CHAPEL, SANTA CROCE, FLORENCE.

FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI, *Archt.*

ordering, for there is no Roman precedent for such a treatment. Very often Brunelleschi accepts the traditional form or the Gothic usage, and works it out in classical detail. And so of the church to which the sacristy belongs (Plate 5). According to Vasari this had been commenced by "one who dabbled in architecture to pass the time" before it fell into the hands of Brunelleschi, about 1421, but without doubt he is responsible for the plan, which approaches the Basilican type. To this day there is no exterior over and above the skeleton of crude brick, which it was designed to clothe with marble, in late Roman fashion. The interior effect is inferior to Santo Spirito, its chief faults being slightness of the supports and a clumsiness in the entablature which carries the arches, if indeed the very existence of such a feature as the fragment of architrave and cornice is not in itself a greater defect. In the fourth century the Romans abolished it (as in Diocletian's Baths) and mediæval Western architects generally managed to do without it, but it never wholly disappeared from Italian Gothic, influenced so much by Byzantine methods. Its re-establishment here in comparative purity may be owing as much to its survival in works like the Loggia dei Lanzi (1376) as to a particular Roman model. Closely resembling this church, though in scarcely definable ways much more beautiful, is the Church of Santo Spirito.



OLD SACRISTY, SAN LORENZO, FLORENCE.
Brunelleschi, Archt.

On the occasion of a visit of Galeazzo, the Duke of Milan, in 1471, several "amusements" were provided for him and his party. Among them, in "the *temple* of Santo Spirito," as Vasari puts it, a representation was afforded of the descent of

the Holy Spirit upon the apostles, when in consequence of the amount of fire required for the desired effect, the building was reduced to ashes. This disaster appears to have led to the more speedy construction of the new church which had been rising alongside since about 1433, when it was designed by Brunelleschi The scale of this building is considerable, equalling some of our smaller cathedrals in length, viz.: 315 feet; while in width it equals the largest, being 191 feet across the transepts, and 107 feet wide over nave and aisles. Like San Lorenzo the front consists merely of the shell of rough brick work. The interior is worthy of any age, most elegant in all its proportions, and of solemn and majestic effect. The dome is not quite revealed in the view, and it may be explained that it is on pendentive principles like St. Mark's, Venice, having a very low drum, forming an entablature in the interior, and lighted by circular openings in the lower part of the dome proper, which is of low altitude, and has little external appearance. In respect, therefore, of its pendentive or Byzantine principle, the suspension over pillars set four-square, it is of higher rank than the great dome of the Duomo, but in having practically no drum, and being lighted through the dome, it falls behind it, and shows no constructive advance upon the Byzantine type.

CHURCH OF SANTO SPIRITO, FLORENCE.
Brunelleschi, Archt.

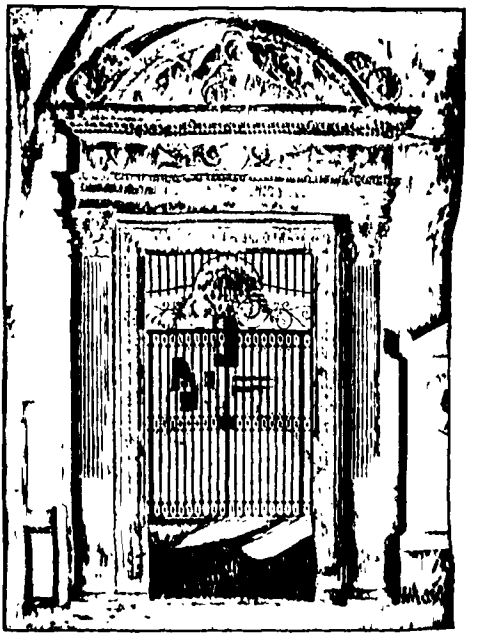
A door in the cloister of Santa Croce is a good example of Brunelleschi's skill and taste in detail. This panelled architrave is constantly to be found in his work, and is besides frequently panelled on the ingoing with a delicate arabesque decoration. Sometimes, as in a beautiful cloister of an abbey near Florence, called the Badia di Fiesole, the deep reveals of the door and

PORTICO OF SS. ANNUNZIATA,
AND SPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI, FLORENCE.

INTERIOR OF SAN LORENZO, FLORENCE.

FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI, *Archt.*

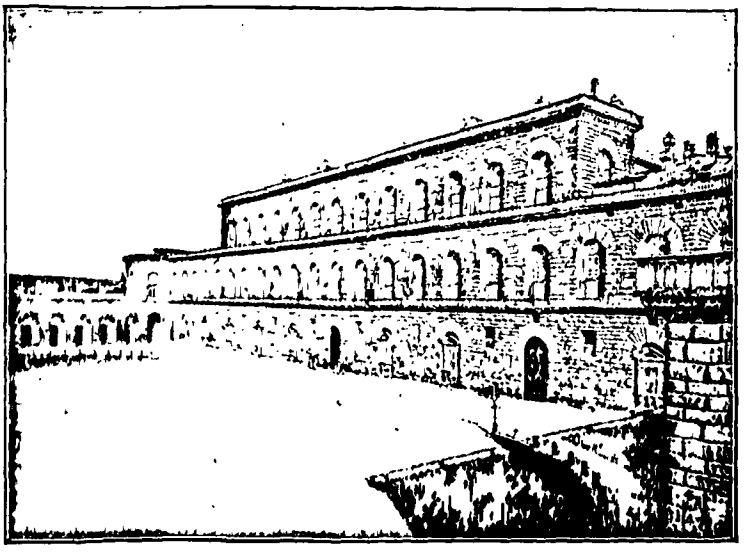
window jambs, panelled and decorated, are carried right round the head with a very good effect. The arabesque form of decoration must have been suggested to him by his explorations of the palaces of the Cæsars, where painted arabesques were frequent, or perhaps by the carved pilasters of such works as the semi-Persian "Arch" of the Money-Changers at Rome. But it should be noticed that he does not apply this ornament on pilasters (as is universal a little later), but simply on the panelled architrave or the reveal.



DOOR IN CLOISTER OF SANTA CROCE, FLORENCE.
Brunelleschi, Archt.

We may turn now to the portico in front of the Church of Santissima Annunziata (on Plate 5), which will serve to illustrate types of the early columnar arcade arrangement. Only the central arch by Antonio da San Gallo the elder belongs to this period. The view includes, however, part of the fine loggia of the Spedale degli Innocenti, or Orphan Hospital (1419—51), from the designs of Brunelleschi. The appropriate decoration of medallions of infants is by Andrea della Robbia. The loggia of the church is nearly two hundred years later than that of the hospital, but it has been carried out as of the fifteenth century, in continuation of Antonio's central arch, which was erected in 1454. Had it been carried out in the style of the period, we should almost certainly have had a round pillar applied to a square pier, not only at the ends but at every point of support. It is obvious that the round pillar could not have been constructed at the ends without supports at intervals to carry the overhanging entablature. Admire then the freedom of this earlier and better arrangement, illustrated both by the church and the hospital, which admits of a pilaster wherever it is convenient, and suffers nothing from its absence.

If the Palazzo Pitti were altogether designed by Brunelleschi, and if it had been ever completed, we might consider it his greatest if not his finest work. But many other architects are named in connection with this building, and certainly had a share in its execution and completion, though it is perfectly clear that the design was furnished by Brunelleschi. It was begun in 1435, eleven years before Brunelleschi's death, for Luca Pitti, chief magistrate of the Republic, and, excepting works like the Palaces of the Cæsars, and the Vatican, was perhaps the largest



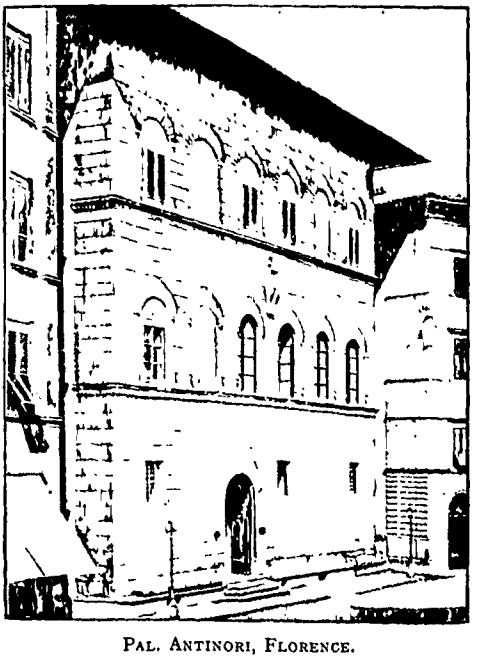
PAL. PITTI, FLORENCE.

Brunelleschi, Archt.

residence ever reared in Italy. This rapacious gentleman, who gathered to himself a great fortune by knavery and maladministration of justice, built this as his little town house literally out of the spoils of the people of Florence, whom he induced to make presents towards its completion and decoration, erecting at the same time as a suburban residence another great building about a mile away. The length of the whole front to the Piazza is 475 feet, and the window bays are twenty-four feet from centre to centre, although it is difficult to conceive this from a photograph, or indeed at the building itself. But even Mr. Ruskin pays tribute to the grandeur of the rusticated work, "brother heart to the mountain from which it is rent," when he says in the *Lamp of Power:* "His eye must be delicate

indeed, who would desire to see the Pitti palace polished." The rustication is even applied to the pilasters in the superimposed orders of the façade to the Boboli Garden, which was only completed in the eighteenth century. The cortile was the work of Bartolomeo Ammanati, about 1568, at which time also the windows in the round arched openings of the front were inserted, perhaps in imitation of Michelangelo's work at the Palazzo Riccardi. Probably the ambitious design of the front was never finished, indeed Machiavelli records that it was stopped in 1466, on the collapse of his conspiracy against the Medici, and there is evidence both in the proportions and in the very poor string course and balustrade of the Piazza front, almost a repetition of those below, that a further storey had been intended, which of course would have been crowned by the great cornice, so typical of the Florentine palazzi.

The Palazzo Antinori is a building by itself. Of still greater simplicity one can scarcely say to which class it belongs. It is certainly of this period, and would be impossible anywhere except in or near Florence, but it indicates a revival of the ancient Etrurian manner rather than the Roman. And yet only in the importance given to the jointing of the stones is there any great departure from the Gothic palazzo. In this there was a renaissance of the Etruscan manner of building, though it is tolerably certain they would not have attempted imitation of the methods of their ancestors, did not Tuscany at this time, just as twenty centuries previously, yield great blocks of stone which were readily quarried. It is this fact more than the commonly supposed

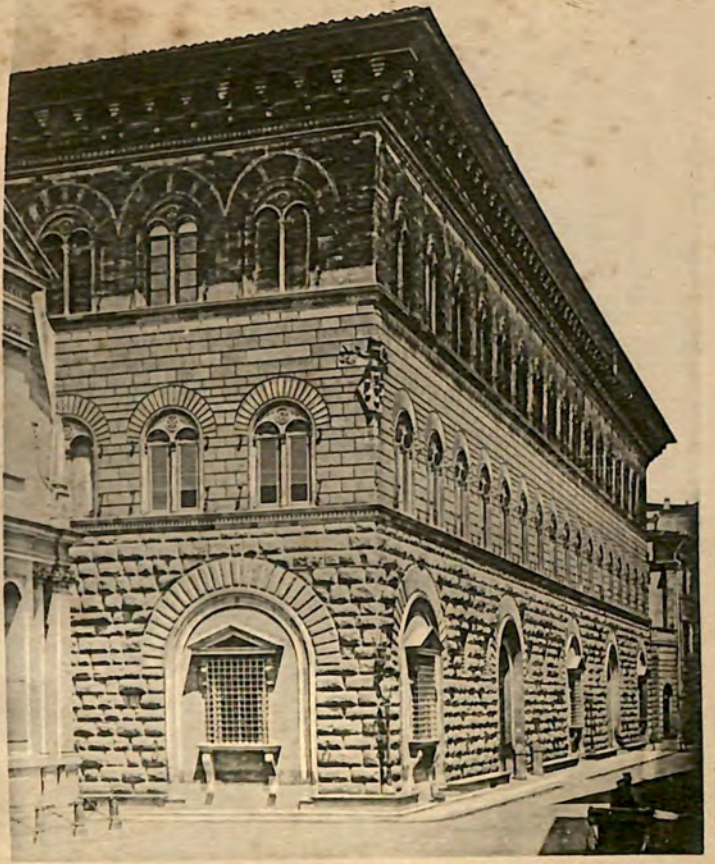


PAL. ANTINORI, FLORENCE.

necessity of defence that accounts for the severe and substantial character of the Florentine habitation. The few mouldings on the Palazzo Antinori partake more of a Romanesque than a purely classical manner, but might also have been imitated from Etruscan buildings. This masterpiece of honest simplicity is ascribed alternatively to Baccio d' Agnolo and Giuliano da San Gallo. For it was not long before there gathered round Brunelleschi an able group of architects imbued with his spirit, as well as a number who were mere imitators of his manner, as in the case of all great men. Of the former class must have been Michelozzo, the architect of the Medici palace. Cosmo de' Medici, for whom it was built, had at the time become the greatest citizen of Florence, possessing more riches than any king in Europe. His munificence was commensurate with his wealth, and in works of charity, patronage of art or literature, he was constantly engaged; so that the impulse he gave to the Renaissance can hardly be over-estimated. In connection with his proposed dwelling, Brunelleschi had prepared a grand design, which Cosmo, with greater sense than his rival of the Pitti, considered too costly, and such as to excite the jealousy of his fellow-citizens. "Envy is a plant one should never water," he is reported to have said, being addicted to pithy and striking phrases, and Brunelleschi in a moment of irritation smashed the model he had carefully prepared. Michelozzo's less costly design was thereafter carried out, the striking, massive, and strong work now known as the Palazzo Riccardi (Plate 6). Attention should be directed to the far-reaching projection of the chief cornice which is so magnificent a feature of the Florentine palazzi. The building was erected about 1430, and was the first of its kind, while it remains the type of Florentine domestic work. Certainly the Palazzo Strozzi, by Majano and Cronaca, generally looked upon as the most complete example of Florentine palazzi, is chiefly derived from the Riccardi, which it does not surpass. It was begun by Benedetto da Majano, about 1489, for Filippo Strozzi, another rival of the Medici family in later times, and was not entirely completed till 1553; so that it belongs to a much later period of the revival, while it does not show more than the slightest tendency to the adoption of ancient Roman traditions or the contemporary Roman practice.

THE PALAZZO STROZZI, FLORENCE.

BENEDETTO DA MAJANO AND CRONACA, *Archts*



THE PALAZZO MEDICI (RICCARDI) FLORENCE.

MICHELOZZO MICHELOZZI, *Archt.*

We see that the Renaissance drew its first great architect from a Florentine goldsmith's shop, and as we have reason to believe that many of the great architects of the *quattro-cento* were trained in these *bottege*, it may be well to consider what kind of work and experience was to be had within them. Some of these *bottege* appear to have served the purpose alike of painters' studio, gold and silversmiths' shops, and sculptors' and decorators' work-rooms. In special cases this extent of practice would be more restricted, as for example in the case of the *bottega* conducted by the Robbia family for the manufacture of glazed terra cotta, but in nearly all they would have appeared to our ideas to be remarkable for the variety of the work undertaken in them. These early Florentine masters knew but the "one art;" and however one artist might excel in a particular department, their whole education and mental bias was opposed to modern ideas of division of labour, and of a unique sphere for the individual in that sense. The tasks to which the pupil might be set must have been somewhat diversified: perhaps the casting of a bronze statuette, or the painting of a merchant's signboard; the enlargement of the master's sketch for a fresco figure decoration, or the carving of a bride's *cassone*.* Of course it is clear that these tasks in themselves would go only a little way in architectural training, and, as a matter of fact, Brunelleschi, Bramante, and Peruzzi, not to speak of many others, gained their architectural knowledge far more by personal study of the ancient Roman buildings than by their apprenticeship in the *bottega*. There, however, they learned to exercise the power of design and to discriminate between good and inferior work; while, in the variety of the training such a place afforded, lies part of the explanation of their quite remarkable versatility. The early Renaissance, in the form it took in Spain some seventy years later, was called by the Spaniards the *plateresco* or silversmith style, and the name is equally applicable to much of the early Italian work. The details of the ornament are very frequently suggested by jewel forms, while there is no doubt that the ranks of its architects and sculptors were mainly recruited from specially gifted artists in gold and silver. Besides Brunelleschi, there may be instanced as some of the goldsmith sculptors who enriched the

* See Prof. G. Baldwin Brown's *The Fine Arts* for an interesting and realistic picture of the daily life and work of the Florentine craftsmen.

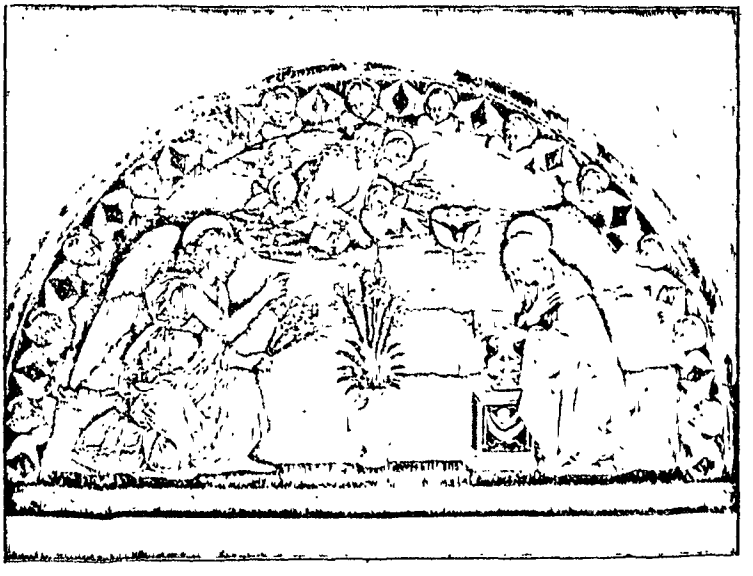
architecture of the time and aided materially in the establishment of the style, (1) Jacopo della Quercia, the son of a goldsmith, who, while he learned his father's art, distinguished himself as a sculptor in marble by a more truthful rendering of nature than had been before approached; and thereby made it possible for others, building on the foundation he had laid, to excel him in the true sculptural qualities; (2) Lorenzo Ghiberti, to whose bronze doors reference has been made; he, too, was trained in the workshop of his father, also a goldsmith, and nearly all the works which can be traced to him are in metal. Only in his second gate (1425—52) do the figure studies and backgrounds indicate a decided tendency to classicism, though in the conception of bronze pictures or stories, however consummately executed, he travelled beyond the proper bounds of the art of sculpture. (3) Luca della Robbia, also, began life in this department, soon, however, deviating into the wider path of sculpture. His magnificent frieze of singing boys and girls, intended for the organ loft in the Cathedral of Florence, speaks to his truthful rendering of child nature and fine sense of decorative effect. Famous as this work most justly is, it was not in marble that Luca and his family attained their greatest renown; but for the successful handling on a large scale of enamelled vitrified earthenware in sculptural form. The works in this material which can be attributed to Luca are very rare, but Andrea della Robbia, his nephew, and others of the family, carried on the manufacture of these statues and reliefs for nearly a hundred years. In their treatment at first nothing more seems to have been attempted than an imitation of smoothed white marble, the figures being executed in white, sometimes relieved with gold or a blue background, but before long many different colours were employed, as in the well-known friezes at the Ospedale del Ceppo at Pistoja, the work, in 1525—35, of a succeeding generation of the same family. This group of distinguished originators of Florentine sculpture is not complete without (4) Donatello, Brunelleschi's companion, who may not have been a goldsmith, but seems to have assisted Ghiberti with the gates, on his return from Rome. In his subsequent work the sculpture of the age culminates, being the first that combines fidelity to nature with the legitimate influence of the ancient masterpieces (Plate 7). Lowness of relief and delicacy of gradation are

SYMBOL OF THE APOSTLE MATTHEW,
SANT' ANTONIO, PADUA.

SYMBOL OF THE APOSTLE LUKE,
SANT' ANTONIO, PADUA.

DONATELLO, *Sculpt.*

technical qualities of his sculpture, and he specially excelled in a kind of flattened relief *(stacciato)*, which is little more than a drawing on the marble surface. It may be useful to bear in mind that Masaccio and Fra Angelico are, among painters, the greatest contemporaries of the sculptors named, while Filippino Lippi, Ghirlandajo, and the still more famous Botticelli occur a little later in the century. For although the central part of the *quattro-cento* may in more senses than one be called a golden age of sculpture, it was not till after the end of the century that painting in Italy reached its highest excellence, almost coeval with the meridian of its architecture.

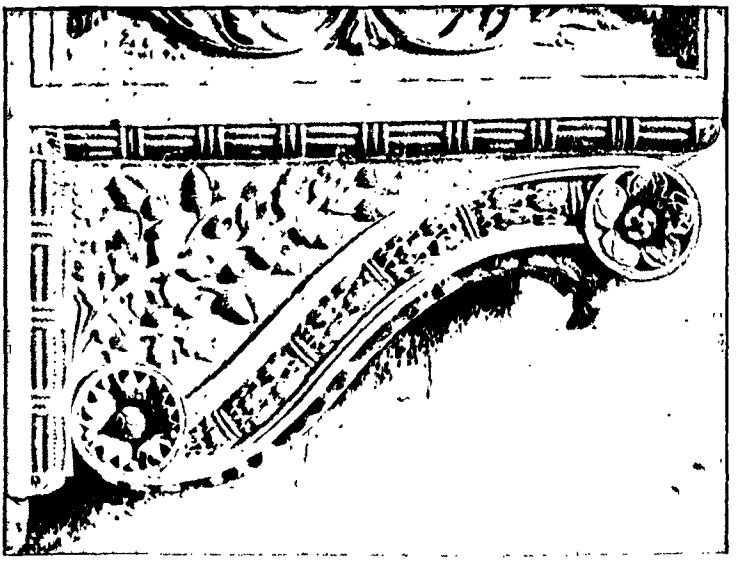


LUNETTE OF THE ANNUNCIATION, SPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI, FLORENCE.
Andrea della Robbia, Sculpt.

The school of sculptors who succeeded the Quercia and Robbia group, some of them also architects, and whose works belong to the latter half of the fifteenth century, do not merit quite the same attention. The most outstanding names of this generation are, in order of seniority, Antonio Rosselino, Desiderio da Settignano, Mino da Fiesole, Giuliano da Majano, Andrea Verrochio, Matteo Civitali (of Lucca), and Benedetto da Majano. Their work, which consists largely of gorgeous monuments, tabernacles, lavabos, pulpits (as, for example, that from Lucca Cathedral, of date 1489, Plate 9), is both

excessively rich and extremely delicate in scale and finish, generally possessing withal a sobriety which distinguishes it from work without Tuscany.

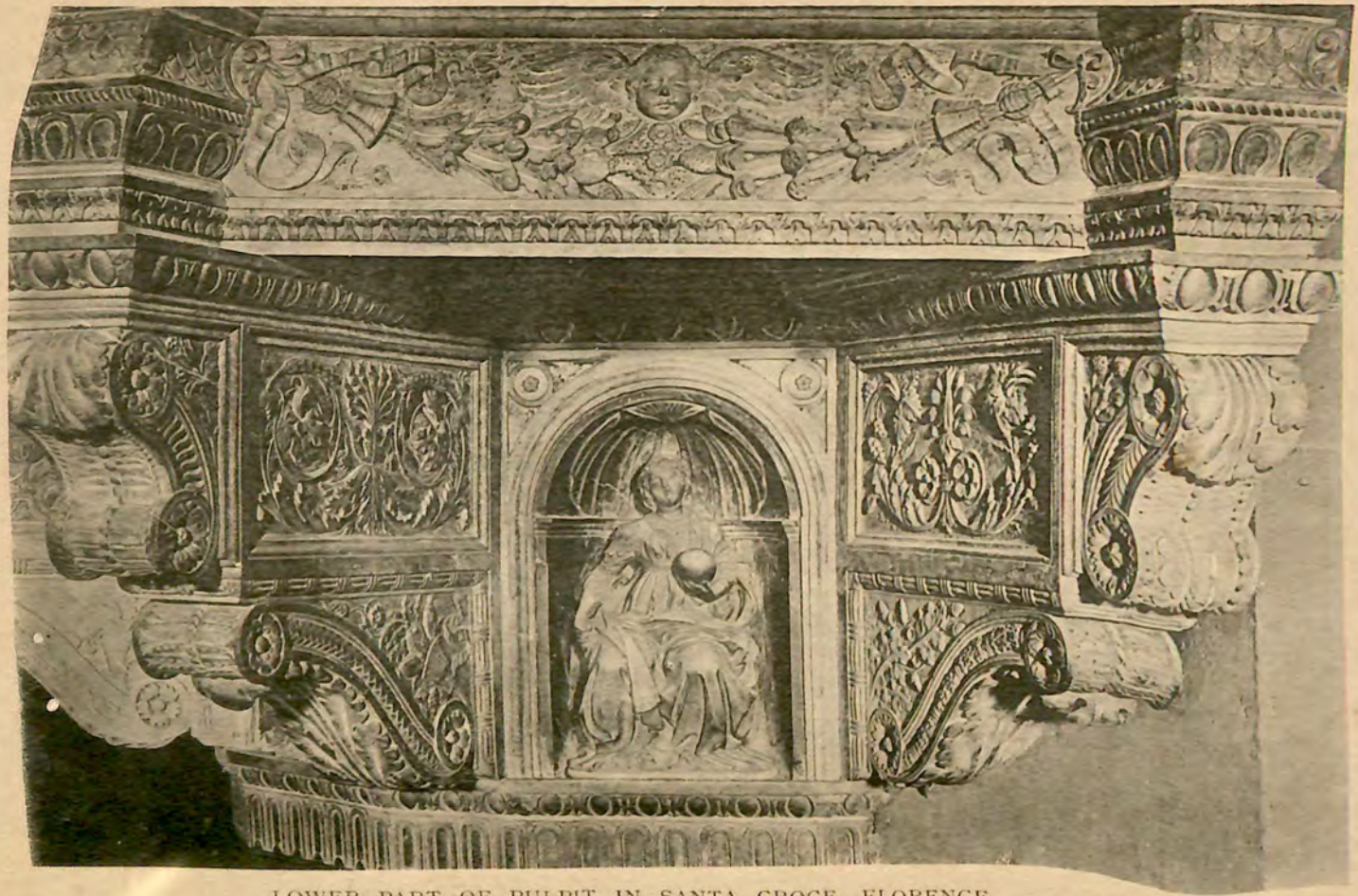
The exquisite pulpit in Santa Croce, Florence, of which Plate 8 shows merely the corbels that serve to project it from the nave pillar, after the manner of a cornice, is one of the most renowned works of Benedetto da Majano. The work is mainly of white marble, but the field of the ornament on the sides of the trusses has been laid in with gold, and the background of the figures, as well as the soffit of the cornice over



BRACKET OF THE PULPIT OF SANTA CROCE, FLORENCE.
Benedetto da Majano, Archt.

them, is of marble of a dark brown colour. In various brackets, most daintily designed and tenderly executed, are such patterns as the chain, the plait, the bundle of reeds, and foliage of natural oak.

In all these examples no very close approach to antique models is to be discovered, but for the succeeding generation Lorenzo de' Medici was preparing, in his great collection of antiques, an influence which was to mould the future course of the arts in Italy in a remarkable way. Dissatisfied with the taste of the sculptors of the period, he set apart the *Casino Mediceo* in his gardens, near San Marco, for the purpose of an academy, having specially in view the study of antique subjects, with

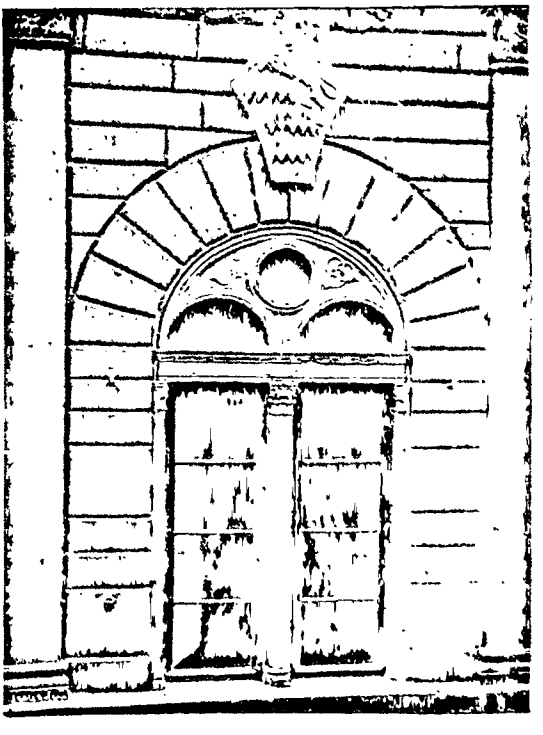


LOWER PART OF PULPIT IN SANTA CROCE, FLORENCE.

BENEDETTO DA MAJANO, *Archt.*

which he very liberally furnished it, besides supporting the poorer students by bursaries, and premiums for proficiency in their work. The *bottega* system of training was in this way superseded, or in any case supplemented, and the facilities for an art education in Florence rendered very similar to those in our own day at any great centre, the gardens serving as a school of art, and in a very notable manner, when it is recollected that Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea Sansovino, and Michelangelo were among the products of the institution.

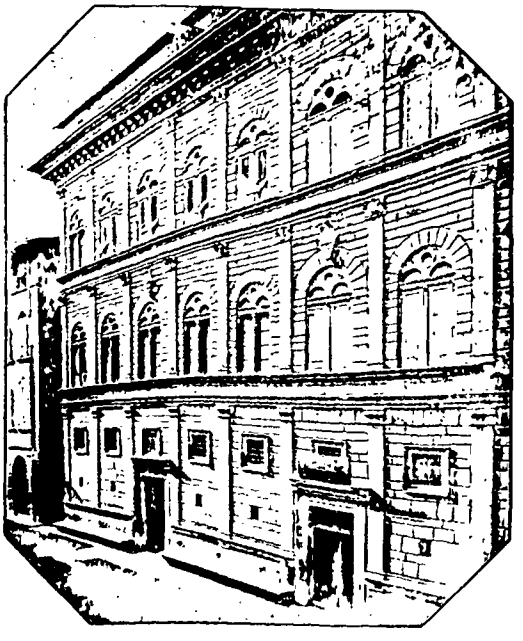
In connection with the resuscitation of classical architecture no name is better known than Leone Battista Alberti. Of noble family, he had a special education, and conspicuous literary gifts well fitted him for what was perhaps the greatest work of his life, his book, or ten books, *Re Edificatoria*, which in the last generation was looked upon as the foundation of all that had been written about architecture or building. The fact of a man of his attainments and position choosing and pursuing an architectural career is an indication of the great popular importance of the art in those days, and the mental equipment not considered too good for an architect. Alberti was the first who seems to have devoted himself to the subject from the scholar's point of view, and is in this and other respects more akin to the typical modern architect than any who preceded him.



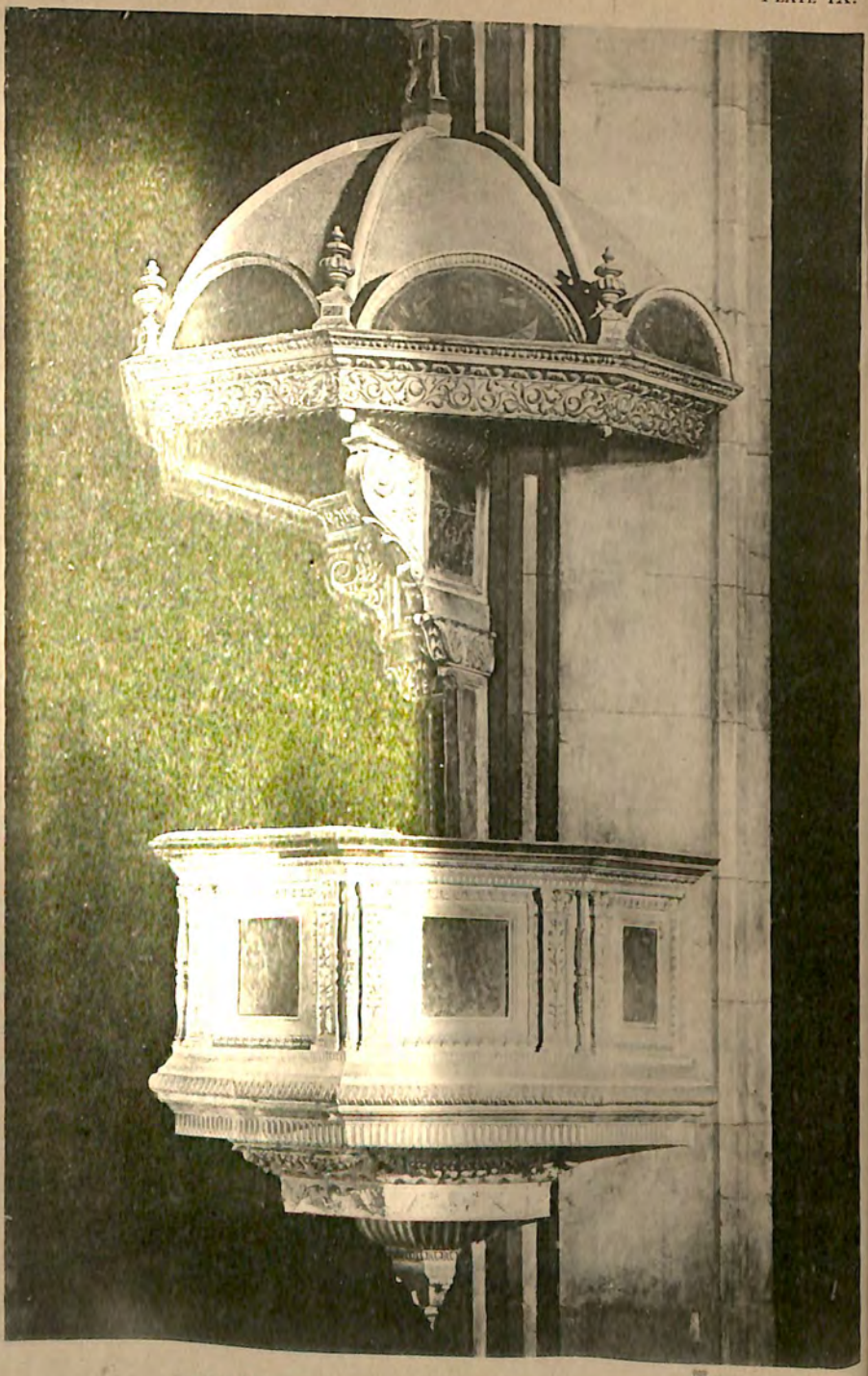
A Window in the Pal. Ruccelai, Florence.

He was also the first who seriously attempted the recreation of Roman architecture as distinct from Roman principles.

Brunelleschi and his immediate successors, while thinking that they had found the better way, were content to carry out the requirements of their time, making use of the mere technic they had borrowed from Rome or the relics of Etruscan greatness. Alberti, however, had a trace of pedantry in his composition, as is evidenced by the publication of his book in Latin, although Dante had, one hundred and fifty years previous, fixed the written form of the vulgar tongue in his immortal poems. But there is evidence, as much in his buildings as in his book, of his desire to be Latin. Take *e.g.* the Palazzo Ruccelai (1460), an important architectural design of his (though said to have been carried out by Bernardo Rosselino), and the first house front on which pilasters appear throughout. The refined taste of the man is apparent in almost every stone of it, and we can almost forgive him robbing us of the wall space and the great cornice, for here the *cornicione*, which in the Riccardi was one eighth of the height, is reduced to one-sixteenth. The inequality of the bays, those at the doors being wider, gives some relief to what is decidedly a monotonous arrangement. A serious defect in many of the Italian palazzi, and markedly in this one, is the uniform height of the piled-up storeys. They are not in this example exactly equal, diminishing to the top, but the difference is so slight as to give the effect of equality. The intermediate entablatures, although their reappearance is to be regretted, are introduced with great taste, being less in depth than would be required if they were standing free or completing the design. The total



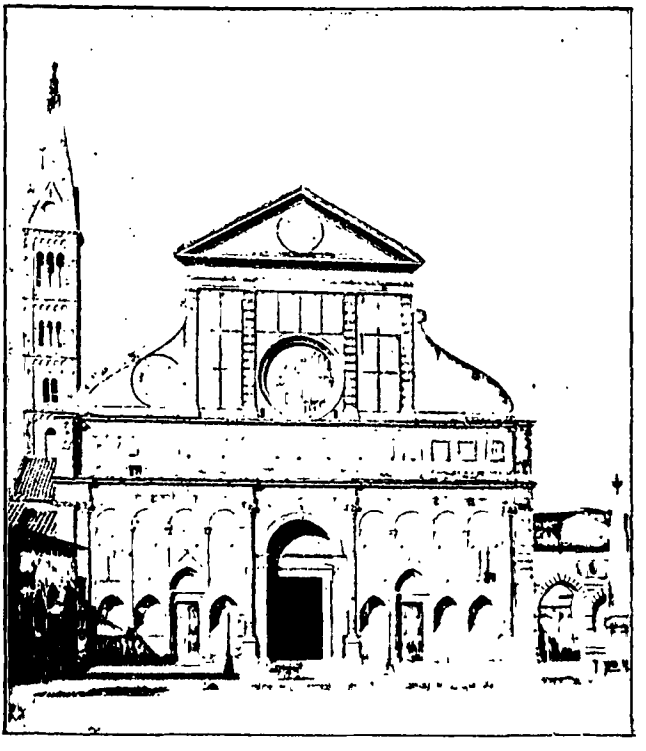
PAL. RUCCELAI, FLORENCE.
Alberti, Archt.



PULPIT IN THE CATHEDRAL, LUCCA.

MATTEO CIVITALI, *Archt.*

height is seventy feet, so that it is a comparatively small building, about twenty feet less in height than the Palazzo Riccardi. Other important works of his are the Churches of San Francesco at Rimini and Sant' Andrea at Mantua. The plan of the latter shows a considerable departure from the arrangement of Santo Spirito, in its recessed chapels and solid piers with coupled pilasters instead of slender columns. It is, moreover, vaulted



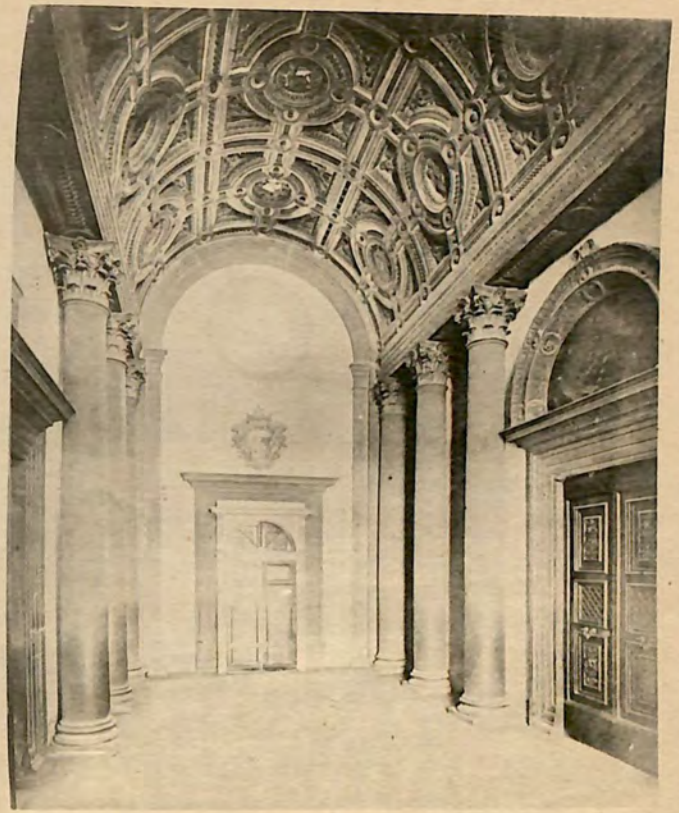
SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE.

by a coffered barrel vault, and has a dome on pendentives lighted by a drum (though this is of later date), and altogether marks a great step in progress, being in fact the type of nearly all subsequent church work. The exterior is a mere skeleton adorned by a beautiful porch, but in the façade of the fine Church of Santa Maria Novella, completed by Alberti in 1470, we may conceive how that master would have treated it. This is the first instance of the use of volutes in connecting nave and aisles, a feature of tiresome reiteration in the later Roman churches.

The octagonal Sacristy of the Church of Santo Spirito is a stately and reserved work, erected between the years 1489—96 by Giuliano da San Gallo, associated with Antonio Pollaiuolo. It will be useful to compare it with the Sacristy, in many ways similar, which Bramante erected in Milan at a period a little later (page 48). A production, perhaps, more remarkable than either is the ante room to the Florentine sacristy (Plate 10), a corridor forty-two feet long and nineteen feet wide, with a beautiful wagon-vaulted ceiling, all of blue stone *(pietra serena)*, divided into compartments enriched with carving, and springing from an entablature carried by six Corinthian columns on each side detached from the wall. This treatment, purely antique in character, trespasses on the margin of the second period of Florentine work, and the beautiful capital, with long finger-shaped leaves, makes a closer approach to the perfection of the Greek and Roman prototypes than had been formerly reached. It is from the design of Andrea da Monte Sansovino, who was employed in his youth to carve some of the capitals of the adjoining sacristy, and who was entrusted with this work about 1490, if we can accept the order in which the inaccurate Vasari recounts the events of his life. The criticism of this writer upon the Vestibule is amusing and characteristic, while the side light thrown upon Michelangelo's views of the archæology of the Pantheon is interesting at a time when that puzzling question seems to be in a fair way of solution: . . . "The work would have been brought much nearer to perfection, if those compartments of the ceiling and the divisions of the cornice, by which the squares and niches forming the decoration

SACRISTY OF CHURCH OF SANTO SPIRITO, FLORENCE.
Giuliano da San Gallo and A. Pollaiuolo, Archts.

A CAPITAL. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch to one foot.



INTERIOR VIEW.

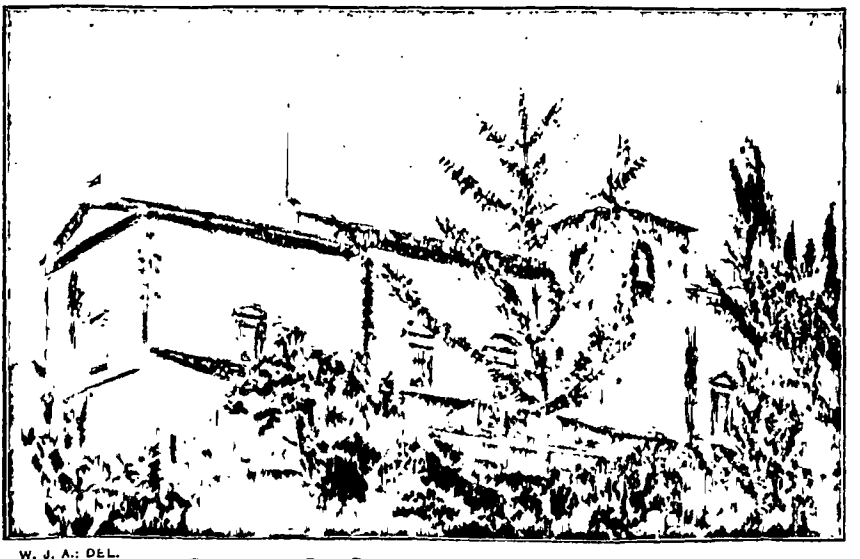
VESTIBULE TO THE SACRISTY OF SANTO SPIRITO, FLORENCE.

ANDREA DA MONTE SANSOVINO, *Archt.*

of the compartments are separated, had been made with a more careful relation to the lines of the columns; and this might have been very easily effected. But according to what I have heard from old friends of Andrea, he defended himself by reference to the Rotundo at Rome, which had served as his model. Here, as he observed, the ribs that descend from the circular opening in the centre, which gives light to the building, form the compartments, which are divided transversely into those deepened recesses that secure the rosettes, and which diminish by regular degrees from the base to the summit, as do the ribs also, wherefore the latter do not fall precisely on the centres of the columns. He added, that if he who had erected that Temple of the Rotundo, which is the most admirable and most carefully considered edifice known, and is constructed with the most exact proportions, paid no regard to that circumstance in a vaulting of so much greater size and so superior in importance, still less was he required to consider it, in the compartments of a space so much smaller. Be this as it may, many artists, among whom is Michelagnolo, are of opinion, that the Rotundo was erected by three different architects, the first of whom raised the building to the completion of the cornice which is above the columns; the second they consider to have carried it from the cornice upwards, that part namely, wherein are windows of a more delicate manner; and this portion is certainly very different from that beneath, the vaulting having been then continued without any regard whatever to the relation required between its compartments and the divisions of the lower part. The third master is believed to have executed that portico which is held to be so exquisite a work. He, therefore, who should now permit himself to fall into the error of Andrea, could scarcely offer the same excuse."

This great artist, whose proper designation was Andrea di Domenico Contucci, is not to be confused with Jacopo Sansovino, who was a disciple of Andrea, and took his place-name, but whose chief works are of a later period and mostly at Venice. Andrea's work leads up to the culminating period and was rather in advance of his time. Chronologically he stands between Giuliano da San Gallo and Baldassare Peruzzi, and there was no artist of his own generation who was his superior in architecture.

There are not many buildings of the Italian revival which can be said to possess a naive simplicity and unaffected grace, without adornment. More commonly, as their enemies delight to affirm, they smack of the pride of learning and conscious striving after effect. But if this be a rule, the monastery church of San Salvator (or San Francesco) del Monte is one exception; and some idea of this kind was doubtless in Michelangelo's mind when he styled it his "fair country-maiden." It stands close by and contrasts sharply with the richer and more famous



W. J. A.: DEL.

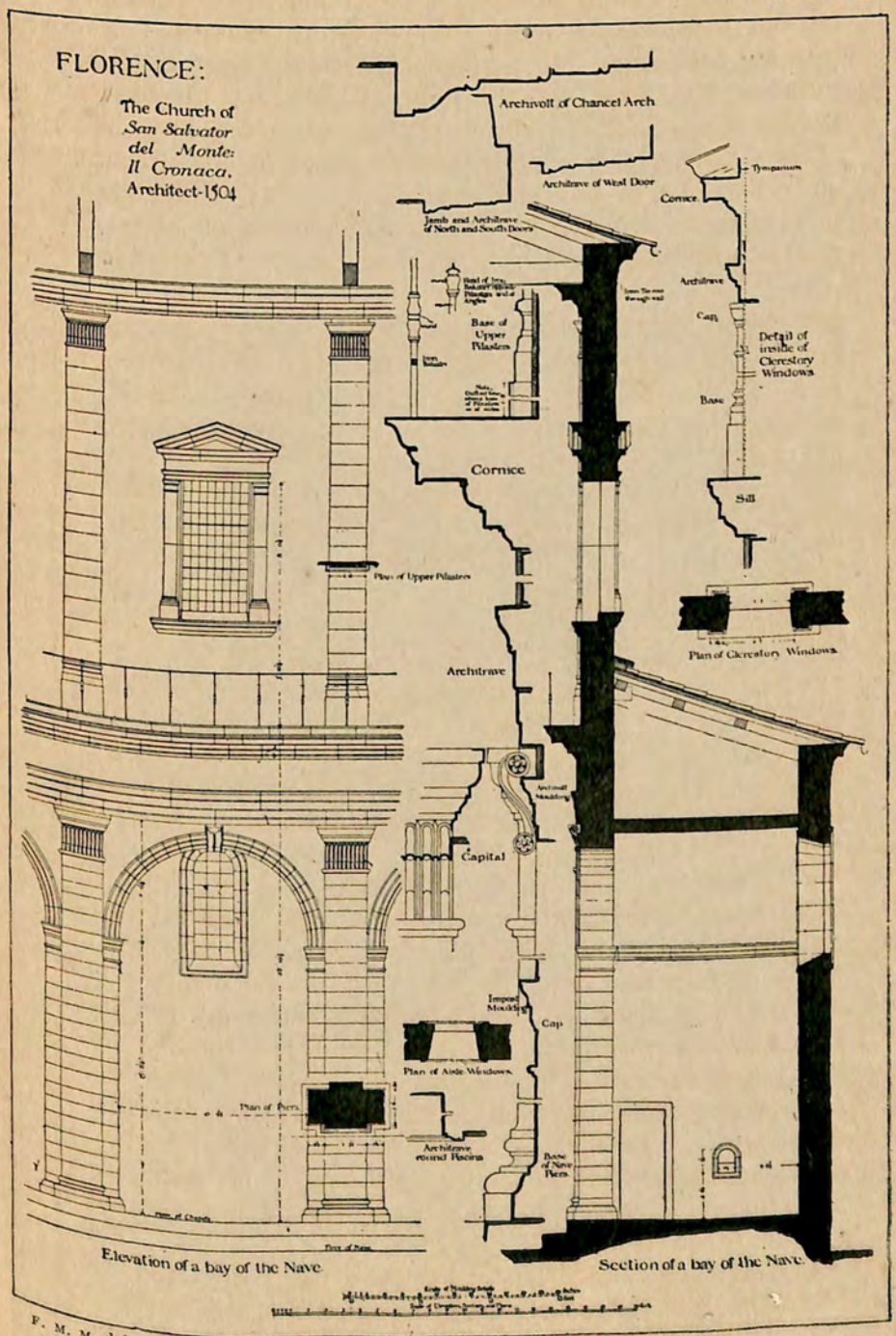
CHURCH OF SAN SALVATOR DEL MONTE, FLORENCE.
Cronaca, Archt.

Latin Romanesque San Miniato, as the peasant with the king's daughter, sharing the delightful prospect of Florence and the Arno. Its face can hardly be said to be its fortune, nor is it, like San Miniato, "all glorious within;" its most favourable aspect is that from which it is sketched, and there is much that is pleasing in the proportions of the whole and the broad surfaces of its cemented walls. The arrangement of the plan is one not uncommon in the Italian churches, and goes to produce a stately and impressive interior. The details are in perfect keeping with the whole, piquant, and not remarkable for refinement (Plate II).

Passing from individual works and reviewing the early Florentine manner as a whole, we see that first it is affected by

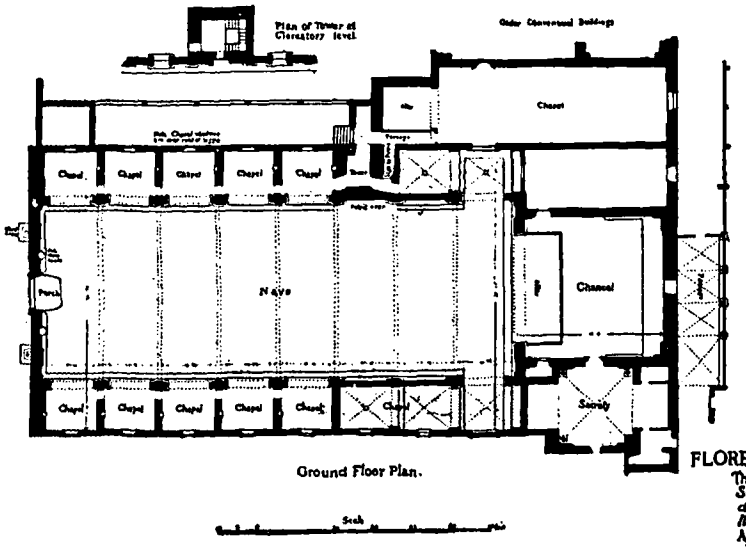
FLORENCE:

The Church of *San Salvator del Monte: Il Cronaca.* Architect-1504



F. M. M. del.

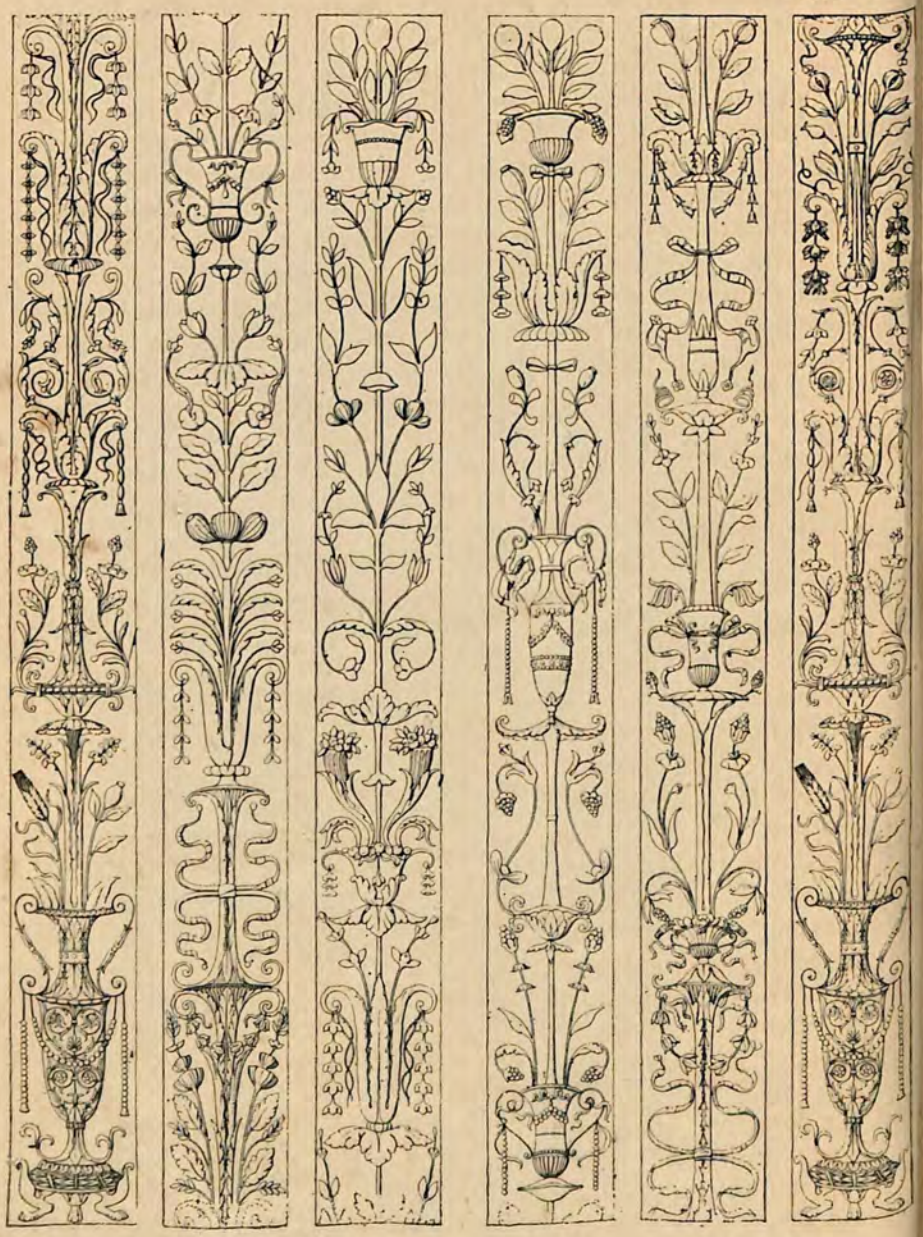
the preceding Romanesque and Gothic work. Even its horizontalism was not due to the ancients more than to the mediæval structures of the period immediately preceding; the heavy projecting cornice which crowned the palazzi was as much the legacy of the Italian Gothic as a revival of the antique. Despising, as the Florentine architects doubtless did, the style of their immediate forerunners, they could not, at a bound, effect the transformation they desired; the environment of social and intellectual influences, the *milieu*, was too powerful for them. Mediæval church arrangements, *e.g.*, were generally preserved, and the plan of Santo Spirito resembles more the Gothic church of the thirteenth and fourteenth



centuries than either the pagan temple or the early Christian Basilica. In the façades of the palaces there survives that peculiar compound form of arch peculiar to the Italian Gothic (a round arch with the extrados of the voissours taking a pointed form), and also the late Romanesque and Gothic innovation of an arch over a lintel, instead of the Roman method of a lintel over an arch. For this distinctively Roman fashion does not appear in the Florentine work of the Early Period which is under consideration. The composite arcade of these Florentine architects, where it does exist, is composed of a high pilaster and subsidiary columns to carry the arches, instead of a high column to carry the entablature, backed by an arcade formed in

a wall which does the constructive work, as at the Colosseum, and Roman work generally (Plates 27 and 46). Thus a Romanesque system is followed rather than a Roman one, and although the entablature frequently crosses a row of arches, it does not project, or if so, not more than the projection of a flat pilaster, and much less than would be required to set it upon a half or three-quarter column (Plate 5, Spedale degli Innocenti). It is, therefore, not in the least obtrusive, and a much more logical treatment. Of course the arcade fails in solidity, except where the pilaster is employed; this, however, cannot be done at each division, except with disastrous effect. Further, in the Palazzi Antinori, Pitti, Riccardi, and Strozzi, an attempt is made to work out an arcuated style, without dependence upon the classic orders, which merits every praise. In this, as in other respects, the palatial style of Florence may be said to be more truly an Etruscan than a Roman revival. Large stones, the use of the arch and great simplicity and solidity of construction were the characteristics of Etruscan buildings, and they are no less typical of the Florentine town-houses. Of the churches, for a distinction must be drawn between the ecclesiastic and domestic work, this cannot be said. Here the effort is clearly in the direction of reviving the Roman forms, if not the Roman architecture. What exteriors we have are ill composed, while the interiors though graceful, lack stability, albeit Alberti in Sant' Andrea at Mantua showed how this might be attained. Notwithstanding the cultivation of the Grecian language and literature, and the introduction of a Greek element into the population of Florence, purely Hellenic architecture had not begun to influence Florentine work up to the end of the fifteenth century, but an almost Grecian sense of refinement saved Florence from the somewhat fantastic character which the style it had originated assumed in the hands of the Lombards and Venetians. Enough has been said to indicate that the merits of this earliest phase of the Renaissance are of the highest order, and that there are few periods which deserve more careful study.

One failing for which it is difficult to account is the rejection of variety of hue in the material employed. Except for the unpleasant glazes of the Robbian terra cotta, the buildings mainly rely upon their masses of brown stone for any colour effect, and it is this want in a land of colour, and among the

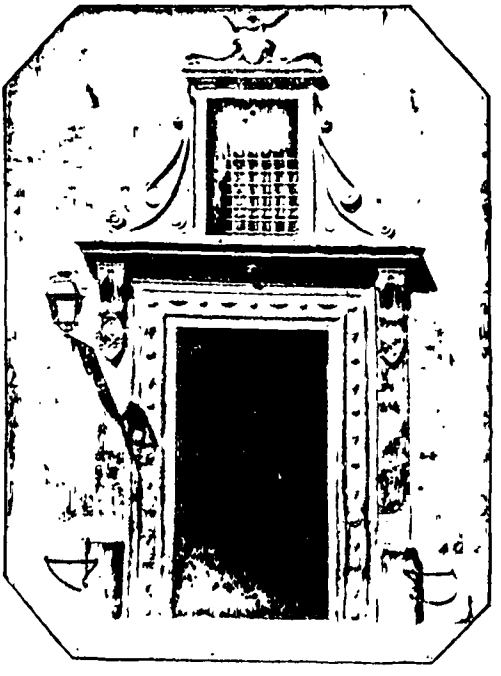


ORNAMENT IN PILASTERS, SANT' AGOSTINO, ROME.

Letarouilly. BACCIO PINTELLI, *Arch*

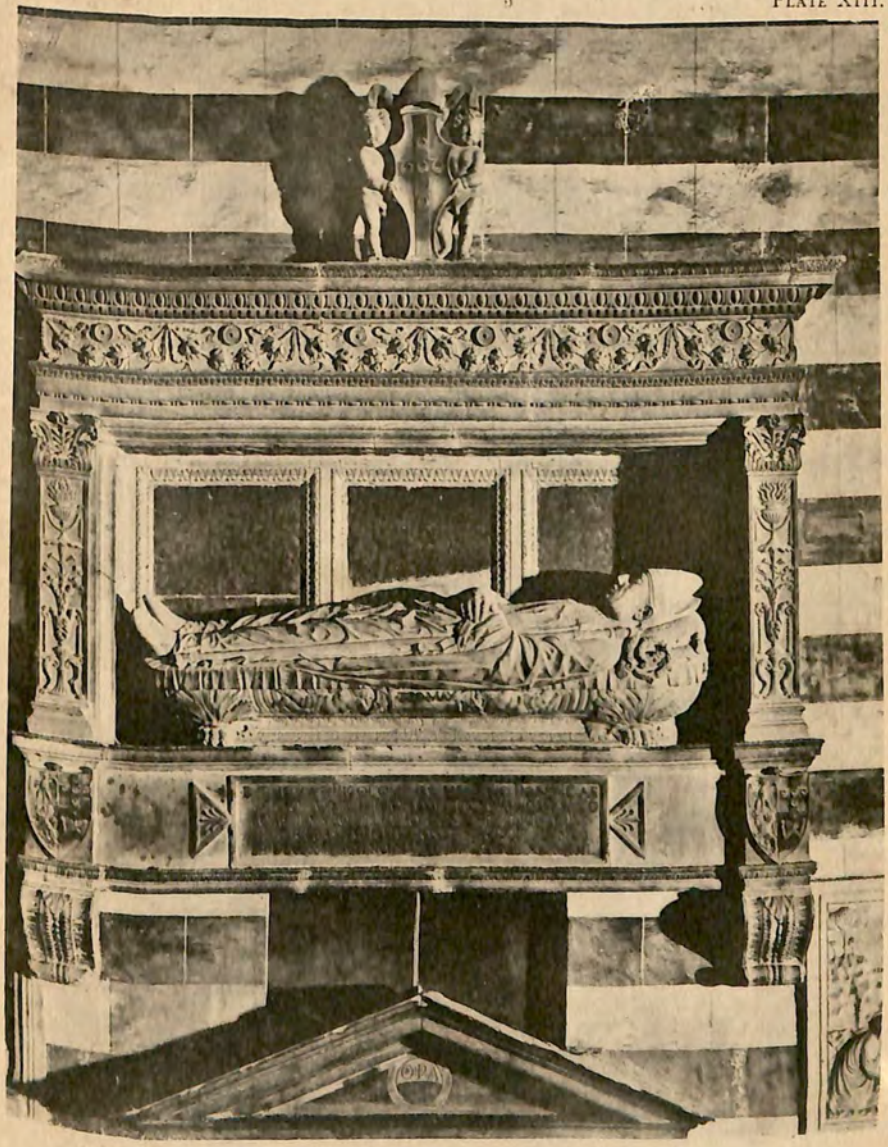
Byzantine and Gothic buildings and their often splendid polychromatic decoration, which causes them to be overlooked by the ordinary tourist or half-educated architect. Possibly the most plausible explanation of this restraint on the part of the designers is that they were too intent upon the forms and proportions to give much heed to their enhancement by colour. The *sgraffito* decoration applied in some cases—as, for example, the Palazzo Guadagni—is just the kind of exception that proves the rule. For in this only two neutral tints are employed—the black plaster, or first coat, and the white grey second coat, which is cut away to show the design, or to form it on the black background. A blue stone, *macigno* or *pietra serena*, is frequently used in interiors, where it contrasts finely with the tan coloured *morta* or *pietra forte*, both being quarried in the immediate neighbourhood of Florence, at Fiesole and Settignano.

Rome, as far as this first period is concerned, may be joined with Florence, for although afterwards the seat of the culminating period at the time of Raffaello and Peruzzi, there is little that one who has studied Florentine work need know about the early Renaissance in Rome. Florence at the time was the real capital of the peninsula, Rome having fallen on evil days through the Papal schism and various misfortunes, and such artists as were attracted to Rome by Nicholas V., the *protégé* of Cosmo de' Medici, were of the Florentine school. There are a few unimportant houses of the time, mostly by Baccio Pintelli and Bernardo Rosselino of Florence, who were employed by the Popes



DOOR OF PAL. VENEZIA, ROME.

Nicholas V. and Pius II.; while the greatest work is probably the Palazzo di Venezia, built in 1455 by Francesco del Borgo di Santo Sepolcro for the Venetian Cardinal who became Pope Paul II. The view of the doorway from this building bears out better than any words what has been said as to the modification of architectural forms by jewellery design and goldsmith work. The architrave is studded with the semblance of jewels, relieved with delicate carving, while the light and graceful scrolls connecting the little window with the door cornice suggest bands of beaten metal. The arabesque type of ornament, though seldom employed at Florence, flourished to a greater degree at Rome. The examples given in Plate 12 are the designs of Baccio Pintelli for the doorway of the church of Sant' Agostino at Rome, which has a façade in form very like Santa Maria Novella at Florence, with volutes in the same position. The ornaments, eight inches wide, are contained in two very long and narrow pilasters under the trusses which carry the pediment, the three to the left being parts of the left hand pilaster and *vice versâ*. In this early example floral and leaf forms are chiefly employed, and the grotesque character afterwards developed has not yet appeared. Of the same year (1483) is the delightful example from Siena, the tomb of Bishop Tommaso Piccolomini, of the family which gave Pius II. and III. to Rome. The effigy is a most beautiful example of careful study and refined rendering of the human figure, and the whole monument, equally with many another from Florence and Lucca, shows the Tuscan sense of propriety, the qualities of grace and scholarship, enhanced by skilful and tender manipulation.



TOMB OF BISHOP TOMMASO PICCOLOMINI, SIENA.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY RENAISSANCE OUT OF FLORENCE (1457—1525).

REASONS FOR CLASSIFICATION OF CENTRES AND DIVISION OF SUBJECT—DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTRY—RELATIONS OF THE STATES AT THE MIDDLE OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY — MILAN THE FIRST GREAT CENTRE OUT OF FLORENCE — BRAMANTE DA URBINO — THE ADVENT OF PAINTER-ARCHITECTS—FAÇADE OF CERTOSA DI PAVIA AND COMO CATHEDRAL, EXAMPLES OF A TRANSITIONAL STYLE—S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE—S. SATIRO—THE CHANCEL—THE SACRISTY—DECORATION OF THE PILASTER —THE PECULIAR POSITION OF VENICE—A NEW ROME—ASSIMILATES THE ART OF THE MILANESE—LATENESS OF APPEARANCE OF RENAISSANCE—SOME REASONS FOR THIS RELUCTANT ADOPTION—GRADUAL GRAFTING OF CLASSIC DETAILS UPON ESSENTIALLY MEDIÆVAL WORK — DOGES' PALACE — PORTA DELLA CARTA AND QUADRANGLE — S. MARIA DEI MIRACOLI — SUGGESTED BY ROMANESQUE BUILDINGS, BUT WITH CLASSIC TECHNIC — SCUOLA DI SAN MARCO — PERSPECTIVE RELIEFS — —MR. RUSKIN'S CLASSIFICATION—INTERIOR OF S. MARIA DEI MIRACOLI —VENETIAN CHARACTER IN ORNAMENT—THE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF VENICE — PAL. CORNARO SPINELLI, ITS BLENDING OF FLORENTINE METHODS WITH VENETIAN GOTHIC—PAL. VENDRAMINI, A STEP TOWARDS CLASSICISM—THE GROUPING OF THE CENTRAL WINDOWS—CONFRATERNITA DI SAN ROCCO—PAL. CONTARINI DELLE FIGURE—VERONA—ORNAMENT IN S. ANASTASIA AND S. MARIA IN ORGANO—PAL. CONSIGLIO—S. MARIA DEI MIRACOLI AT BRESCIA—CAPELLA COLLEONI AT BERGAMO —BOLOGNA—PAL. BEVILACQUA AND FAVA—THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF BOLOGNESE RENAISSANCE AND OF THE EARLY NORTH ITALIAN WORK —SUMPTUOUS DETAIL AND FANTASTIC COMPOSITION—TENTATIVE, BUT FRUITFUL OF RESULTS IN TIME SUCCEEDING.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY RENAISSANCE OUT OF FLORENCE.

IN any treatment of the subject of Italian Renaissance Art it seems natural and proper to break up the whole time into three divisions—the Early, the Culminating, and the Declining Periods. But in order to deal with these, or any one of them, in strictly chronological sequence, it would be necessary to pass from one district to another in a manner somewhat distressing to a moderate sense of locality; while such a treatment would be unscientific, in that the continuity of local progress would be interrupted, and the local colour broken. For these reasons it may be better, in dealing with each period, that its course in any district where it appeared should be considered separately. This procedure will bring us back again to touch upon Florence and to take up Rome at the point where we left off in the last chapter; and if, having fixed the source of what has been called "the foul torrent of the Renaissance,"* we were anxious merely to follow the current of the main stream, we should simply continue the subject from that point. But having decided to stop there meantime, we now explore a kind of backwater, which has its own character and interest, and which after various modifications may be said to have ultimately found its way into the main stream at Venice. The centres of Early Renaissance architecture are not the usual elementary district divisions of Florence, Rome, and Venice, but rather those of (1) Florence, (2) Milan, and (3) Venice. Rome, as already mentioned, is almost wholly dependent upon Florentine artists of indifferent skill, for any work of this period done within its walls, most of it unimportant, and not such as to entitle it to separate classification. Rome's time of prosperity followed later, and in the culminating period it was the chief centre; Verona for the first time, and Venice for the second time, becoming the centres of other schools. The varying prosperity of towns, together with, in one or two cases, the advent of some outstanding artist, gave some of the

* Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture: The Lamp of Truth.*

cities a different importance in different times, so that in the Late Period, when we come to it, we shall find it necessary to deal with the new centres of Vicenza and Genoa, along with Rome again, and Venice for the third time. Venice is thus the only centre which presents important examples of all three periods. Every town in Italy bears the stamp of the work of these times, but nearly all can be referred to the influence of the centres named at the particular periods. Adopting this treatment, a difficulty presents itself in regard to the dates. For example, the early Renaissance in Florence ends about 1500, while in Venice it extends till 1525, overlapping the beginnings of a new development in Florence and Rome. Disorder of some sort is inevitable in any division of so complicated a matter as the Italian Renaissance, though its treatment need not be immethodical, and such a division as is here marked out will conduce to the clearest and best idea of the subject.

It is necessary to have some comprehension of the partition of the country at the time under review. Speaking broadly, the divisions of Italy retained the same configuration as that into which they had crystallized by the end of the eleventh century:—those most important to remember being the Dukedom of Milan; the Republic of Venice; the Duchy of Ferrara; the district of Romagna round Bologna, with the Duchies of Parma and Modena, forming part of the Papal territory, and the Republic of Florence. Besides these, there were the smaller Republics of Genoa and Siena, and the Kingdom of Naples, that part of Italy south of the Papal States. Without a clear conception of these elements of political geography the study of the history of the times is impossible, and the variations of its architecture inexplicable.

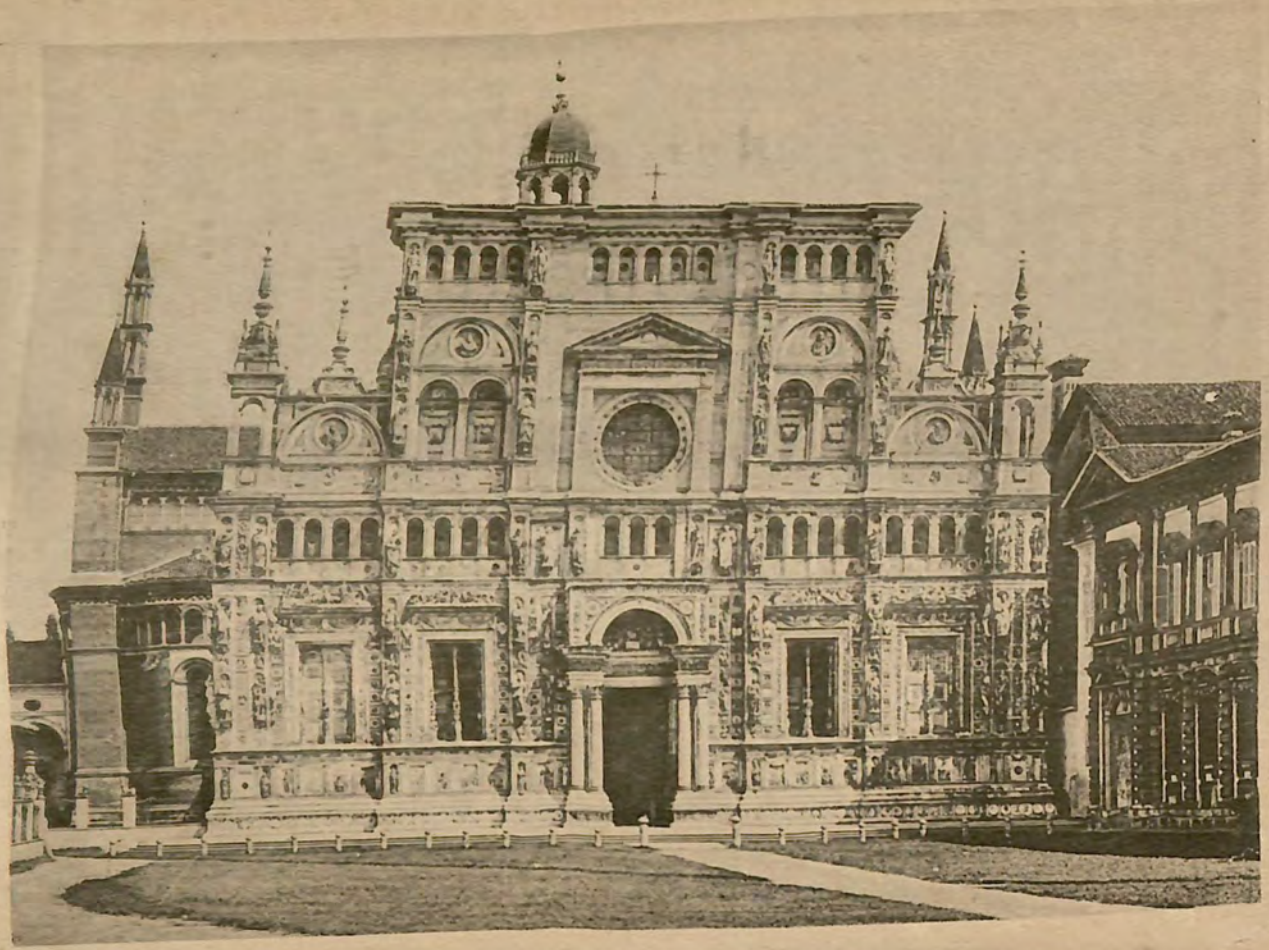
At the middle of the fifteenth century we find Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, administering the affairs of his seigniory with conspicuous ability, and in 1466 see him succeeded by his son, Galeazzo Maria, a ruler who has been described as another Nero; like him, at least in this, that with his open vices he mingled some taste for science and the arts. A close and friendly relation subsisted between the Sforza family and the Medici of Florence, and the States of Milan and Florence were more than once allied in warfare. The ambition of Venice in the eyes of the governments of Italy was at this time the chief danger to the balance of power and the peace of the Peninsula. Receiving its first rebuff in the East by the irruption of the Turks in 1453, its

spread of empire on Italian soil was repeatedly checked by the leagued armies of the country, and the interposition of other European powers. The governments, both of Venice and Florence, were nominally Republican, but present some striking contrasts. Above the riotous disposition of the Florentines and the undue influence of merchant princes there rested the fixed ideals of personal freedom and popular government, in great measure attained: the Republic of Venice, on the other hand, is proverbial as an expression for a tyrant oligarchy; and the lesser degree of individual liberty is written unmistakably in the Venetian art of the period. In Nicholas V. (1447—55) the Chair of St. Peter had an occupant who evinced some desire for the revival of arts and letters, but the rest of the Popes of the fifteenth century showed more interest in the aggrandizement and extension of their kingdom in earth. Alphonso of Arragon was sovereign of Naples, or the Sicilies, at the middle of the fifteenth century. At his death, in 1458, the island kingdom and Naples were separated, and Ferdinand I. succeeded. This ruler brought about some amelioration of the backward and abject condition of the once Magna Græcia of a higher Hellenic civilization, fifteen hundred years buried. In North Italy, among the lesser powers, the Marquis of Ferrara appears to have encouraged in his territory the love of the arts, and the d' Este family, to which he belonged, were in this respect not unworthy rivals of the other reigning families in Italy. Pisa was a subject city of Florence, and Siena and Lucca, though free communities, and capable of producing a school of artists of great talents and originality, were upheld in their state of independence rather by motives of jealousy among the contiguous powers than by their own resources, much as Turkey is able to hold its own to-day, or as Belgium and Holland have remained inviolate amid the struggles of great empires. Such, in broken outline, were the relations of the peninsular republics, duchies and kingdoms of the period at which this chapter opens. In many respects which will readily suggest themselves, Italy, then the foremost province of civilization, presents an epitome of the history of the Europe of a later date. On the little stage of Italian soil, with its changing background of the arts, the larger drama of European evolution is rehearsed.

Beyond the limits of the territorial influence of Florence, Milan was the first to transplant the new growth which had

blossomed in "the flower of cities." For about the middle of the fifteenth century Florentine artists were employed in various buildings in Milan; Antonio Filarete first, in 1457, at the Great Hospital, a large building of terra cotta, semi-Gothic in style, and Michelozzo at the Capella Portinari (1462) at San Eustorgio. But the first outstanding architect with whom we meet, and strangely enough, almost the only great artistic personality connected, at the period, with the places we are to consider, was Donato Bramante da Urbino; and since in the first part of this chapter, not to speak of the next chapter on Rome, we shall always be coming into contact with his work, the very few facts known of his earlier life may be worth retailing.

Urbino, the capital of the duchy of that name, and the birthplace of the still more famous Raffaello, is a small town, lying some fifty miles south of Ravenna, and eighteen miles landward from the coast. It was in a house just outside Fermignano, a village near Urbino, that Bramante was born (1444). The name he bears signifies, in the Italian,—"always longing," and his career proved it to be an appropriate appellation. Of his youth, little is known but that he had instruction in painting from Andrea Mantegna at Mantua, where he may also have come under the influence of Alberti, whose church of Sant' Andrea was building in 1472. We have it too, from the writings of almost an immediate successor (Serlio), that he was "first a painter and had great skill in perspective art before he applied himself to architecture." Architectural power seems from his days to have passed into the hands of the painters, who soon out-numbered the sculptor-architects of the Florentine school. This was not without its effect upon the art, and arose in part from the fictitious importance given at the time, to the science of perspective, in which the painters were naturally more proficient. Not that it signified much in itself whether the way to the practice of architecture lay past the painter's easel or through the sculptor's *bottega*, so long as the man qualified himself as an architect. It would be a mistake to suppose, that because a few of the greatest architects the world has seen found their way through the painters' and sculptors' studios, that therefore such a training must, at any period, best fit one for the work. These particular cases only show that special capacity under favouring circumstances will assert itself and find its true outlet. Many painters and



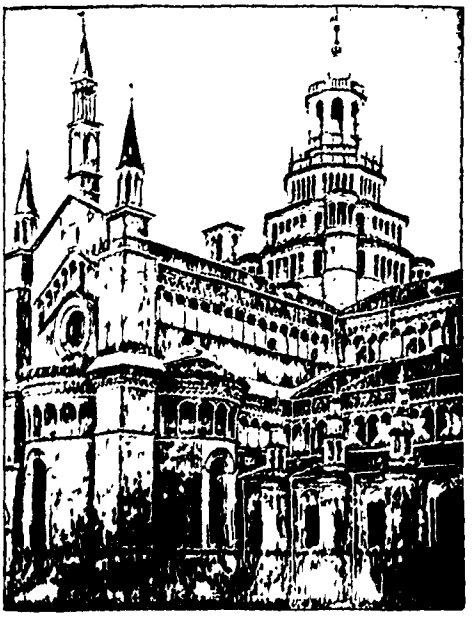
FACADE OF THE CERTOSA DI PAVIA.

sculptors made poor architects, and hundreds of them never indicated any architectural skill whatever. The best of the architects were those who laid everything aside for their art, and became no longer painters and sculptors, but architects. It was so with Brunelleschi, and Bramante, too, seems to have laid aside his palette to give all his energies to the building art. From Milan, where he appears to have been employed from 1476 to the end of the century, Bramante went to Rome, where his first important works were the choir and cloister of the convent church of Santa Maria della Pace. These were executed under the direction of the Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, and appear to have recommended him to the Pope of the day, Alexander VI., who, in 1500, gave him the commission to paint the pontifical arms over the *Porta Santa* of the church of St. John Lateran, a door which is opened only in the year of jubilee. This Pope afterwards appointed Bramante as an assistant architect, but it was only with the accession of Julian della Rovere (Julius II.) that his opportunity arrived. Of that potentate's ambitious schemes for a new Vatican and a new St. Peter's, Bramante had full control till the death of the Pope in 1513. It would not be fair implicitly to accept the view of Michelangelo's latest biographer* that Bramante was "a manœuvring and managing individual, entirely unscrupulous in his choice of means, condescending to flattery and lies," because the interests of Michelangelo and Bramante were constantly in opposition, partly on account of Raffaello da Urbino, who was Bramante's nephew. Whatever may have been the weak points in his character, Bramante was an accomplished architect, and filled a very large place in the minds of his contemporaries. The works of his later life and his connection with St. Peter's may be left to the following chapter.

Taking leave of Bramante meantime, in order to consider some of the chief buildings in progress at the time of his early manhood in this district of Milan, we may first view the façade of the Certosa di Pavia (Plate 14). This part of "the most magnificent monastery in the world" was begun in 1491, and the names of Ambrogio Borgognone, Giovanni Antonio Amadeo, and Agostino Busti have all been connected with the design of the lower portion of the front. As an example of

* Symonds' *Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti.*

painter's architecture (for Borgognone, at least, was a painter more than an architect) nothing could be finer, and it is impossible too greatly to praise the delicate perfection of the details of the lower part. A change occurs at the level of the triforium, or frieze of windows, and above that level the design is simpler and more architectonic, while the detail and workmanship degenerates. The architects here were Dolcebuono and Cristoforo Solari. Broadly, the features worthy of notice are the deep buttresses, and Gothic basement mouldings, and the niches; and passing to the more classical elements, the rectangular window openings, with broad architraves, divided by an inner order of baluster, or more correctly, candelabrum shafts of magnificent workmanship, in their form suggested probably by the work of Libero Fontana, a silversmith who had caught the inspiration of the Renaissance sooner. The candelabra are connected with insignificant arches, and the whole window covered with a bold cornice surmounted by a pediment (if we may call it so), bearing some resemblance to the crowning ornament of the Greek hyperthyrion. In one respect, at least, the façade resembles much modern work in that there is not "the indecency of a single bare square foot of wall," every available spot being filled up with figures, medallions with busts, or squares with circles of coloured marble. The body of the church was begun nearly a century before the façade, and is thus in the Germano-Italian Gothic style, so that it lies outside our province. For although the prevalence of the round arch in the work of the nave and cloisters might lead us to assume an earlier or Romanesque



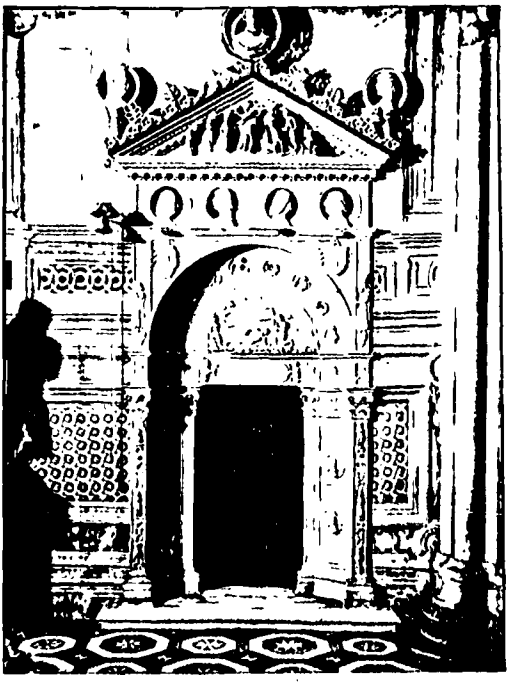
CENTRAL SPIRE, CERTOSA DI PAVIA.

W. J. A. del.

SOUTH AISLE WALL AND APSIDAL TRANSEPT OF THE CATHEDRAL, COMO.

TOMMASO RODARI, *Archt.*

period for the date of the nave, the conjecture would be erroneous, as the work was commenced in 1396. The exterior treatment of the dome is a classical version of that of Chiaravalle hard by, and is of the same date or a little later. Although the bones of the interior are Gothic, it is profusely decorated with work almost entirely in the early Renaissance style. Of such is the doorway illustrated, by Amadeo, a Lombard sculptor-architect of the period. Like the Certosa itself, the door is only beautiful up to a certain level, and falls away after that is reached. The splayed ingoing with its continuous cap, most charmingly sculptured, is a pleasing variation of the Florentine treatment. The workmanship on the lower part of this doorway, like that of the façade, is magnificent, and the delicacy of the carving unrivalled. The cresting over the door pediment is suggestive of goldsmith influence, and if it be considered along with the crowning ornament of the windows of the façade and their candelabra shafts, some idea will be formed of the closeness with which these Lombard craftsmen were following the motifs of metal.



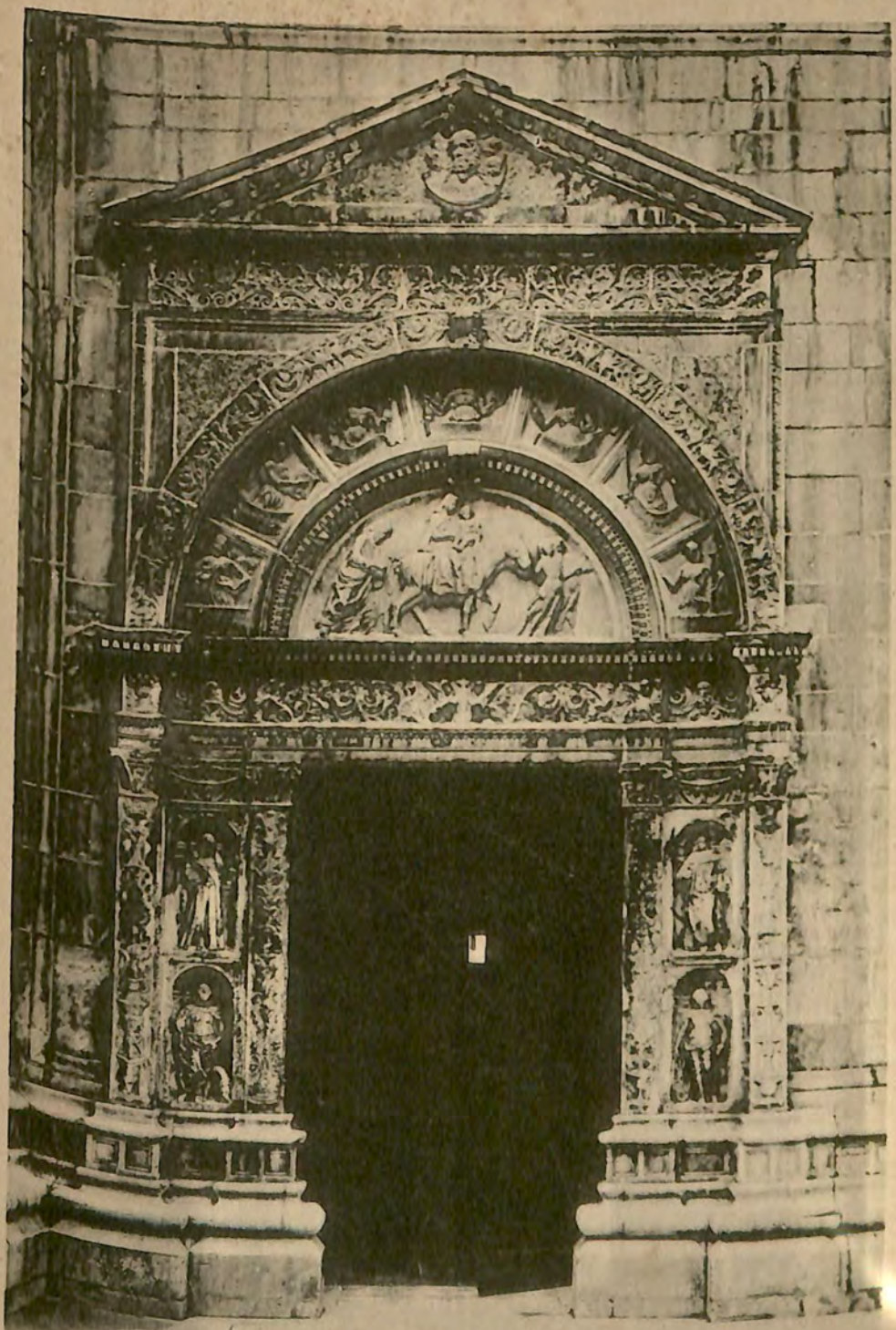
DOOR OF OLD SACRISTY, CERTOSA DI PAVIA.
Amadeo, Archt.

A building of a similar type and of this period, scarcely further removed from Milan on the other side, is the Cathedral of Como. In this beautiful building, constructed of white marble, the transitional style is really seen to better advantage than in the grandiose Certosa. Here again are the deep buttresses, the corbelled-out figures, the fanciful pinnacles, but the restraint of the true architect makes itself felt for the better. It is not

likely to have been from lack of resources, else the pinnacles would scarcely have blossomed out in the way they do: and one of the strong points of the design is the massive solidity and simplicity of the lower part of the building as opposed to the delicate richness of the sky-line (Plate 15). Spanish influence has been suggested, but so far as work of a similar type is concerned, Spain was at least twenty-five years later, and there is no

EAST END OF THE CATHEDRAL, COMO.
Rodari, Archt.

doubt that this originated in Italy. The south doorway (Plate 16) is attributed to Bramante, and would be one of his first works if the supposition is correct. There is no doubt he worked in Lombardy, and we shall have occasion to study some work of his immediately in Milan; besides the composition of the door is of a type in which Bramante delighted, consisting of two concentric arches on pilasters joined by a series of seven four-sided panels, the reveal being left severely square. The lunette is occupied by a sculpture-picture of a favourite subject, the



SOUTH DOORWAY OF THE CATHEDRAL, COMO.

Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch to one foot.

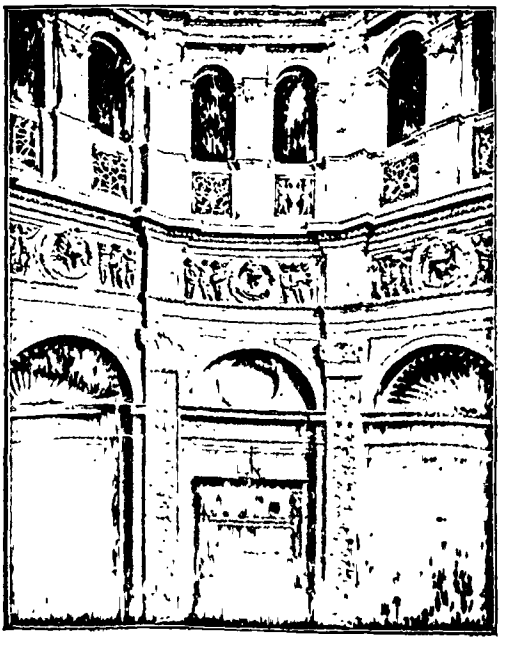
DONATO BRAMANTE, *Archt.*

"Flight into Egypt." The church is cruciform in plan, resembling the Cathedral of Florence, on a much smaller scale, and the tri-apsidal arrangement is common to both. The greater part of this building was the joint work of Tommaso Rodari and Cristoforo Solari, Lombard architects of the latter part of the fifteenth century.

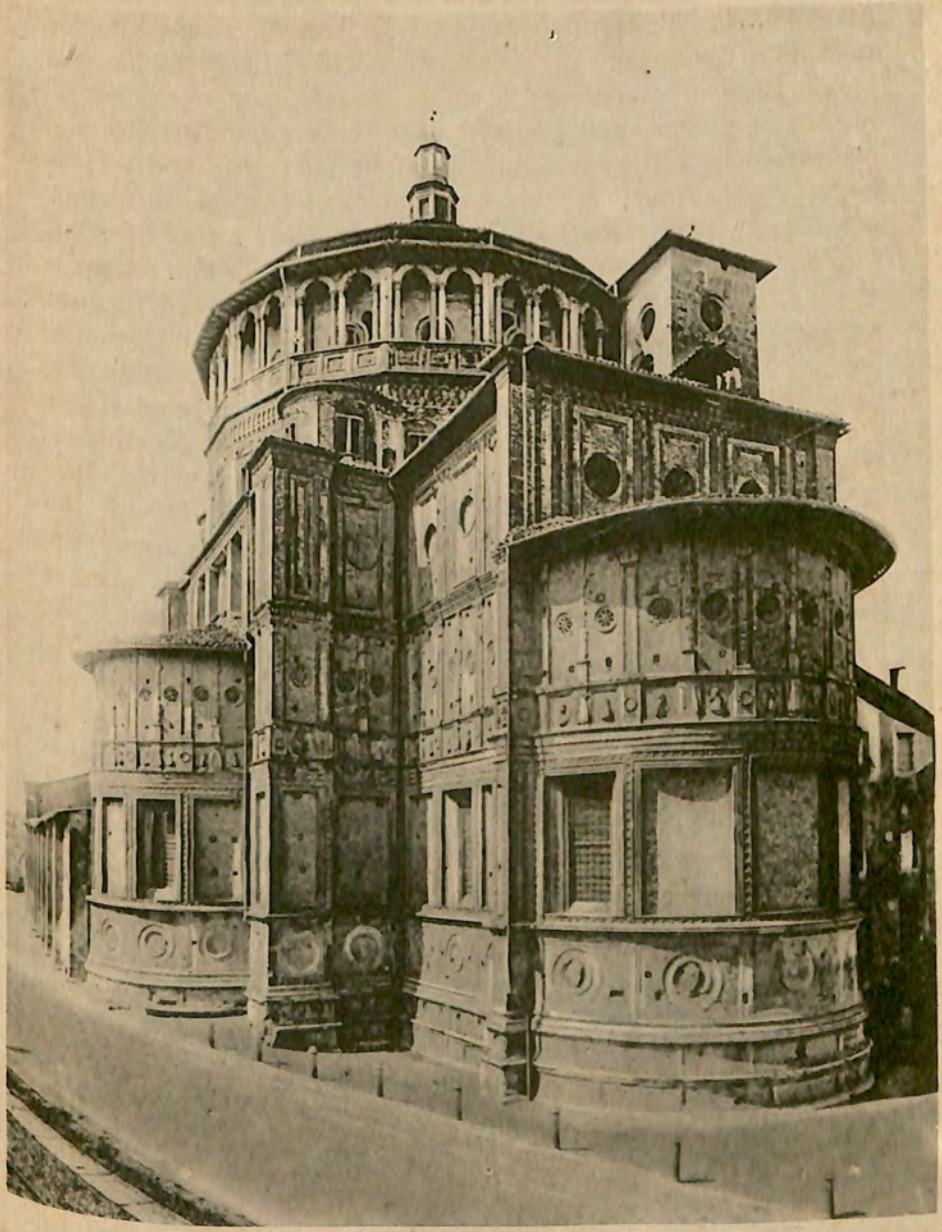
Part of the better known Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan has been ascribed to Bramante, and with some reason, at least of the sort that may be distinguished as internal evidence. Over a basement of rich mouldings and a band of great medallions, there rises a series of rectangular recesses in close juxtaposition, some of which are made use of as windows, the others having been evidently destined for some kind of decoration. On the mullions dividing these openings are placed pilasters on pedestals, with an intermediate baluster shaft over the centre of the space below, an arrangement which seems to have been a favourite one with Bramante. That the upper parts of the church were erected by Bramante is not so probable; they are, however, thoroughly typical of the district. The solution of the dome problem is much less heroic than that of Brunelleschi, at Florence (completed thirty years previous), but it has merits, and is scarcely less beautiful. Its family likeness to that at the Certosa di Pavia (page 44) scarcely needs to be remarked.

The Church of Santa Maria near San Satiro (which we shall call San Satiro for brevity) in the same city, has also been attributed to Bramante, and with regard to the sacristy, there can be little possible doubt that he was the author of its existence. The remarkable point about the church (begun 1477) is that, owing to some re-arrangement of adjoining streets, the architect having built his nave was left without room for a chancel. The manner in which this little difficulty was overcome is so remarkable, that it will not so much as be guessed at, by those who have had no information on the point. It was, in fact, to construct in low relief a chancel with its ornament and decoration in perspective. The effect of this, seen from the middle of the nave, may be tolerable, but when viewed from other parts, its effect may be as well imagined as described. Bramante had doubtless seen or heard of the earlier octagonal sacristy at Santo Spirito in Florence, and in the case of San Satiro he adopted the octagonal form with the semicircular

niches on a small scale. The proportions differ, the Milanese example being higher in relation to its diameter, consequently the side of the octagon is much attenuated. Probably for this reason Bramante employed a single pilaster bent to the angle, instead of the pilasters coupled near the corners, leaving the angles free, as in the Florentine example (page 30); and by this he secured a much greater appearance of rigidity and unity of design. At first blush of it the arrangement rather startles, but on closer acquaintance its reasonableness is forced upon one, and you cannot but admire the resource by which the difficulty is overcome, even if you do not approve the expedient itself. The breaking back of the entablature over the pilaster, in this case, is a masterly touch. At first sight it would seem as if the awkwardness would half disappear if the entablature had been carried round without a break, supported on the angle pilasters, but consideration will show that it was necessary to carry up these lines, so bringing the pilaster in harmony with the entablature, connecting it with the upper tier, and giving force and strength to the angles. From the clever way in which this difficulty is surmounted alone, one would be inclined to accept the view that the architect of the sacristy and the constructor of the perspective chancel were one and the same. The shell ornament does not seem to have occurred to the Florentine architects as a very suitable ceiling for a semi-circular niche, but it is here very skilfully employed, carried as it is upon a recessed order, and surrounded by a relieved archivolt. A departure from the earlier sacristy is the rich triforium



SACRISTY OF SANTA MARIA NEAR SAN SATIRO, MILAN.
Bramante, Archt.



SANTA MARIA DELLE GRAZIE, MILAN.

treatment of the first-floor storey, and a striking peculiarity are the large leaf consoles taking the place of the pillar or candelabrum pillar, which in early work of Bramante we might naturally expect to see. The light in this case is derived wholly from elliptical openings in the sides of the cupola. Ambrogio Foppa (nicknamed Cara d' Osso—bear's face), a native of Milan,* modelled the splendid frieze of child figures and great heads in terra cotta, overlaid with bronze. Recollecting what has been said about the characteristics of Florentine work, it will be seen that the decoration of the main pilaster with arabesque ornament indicates a change. The Florentines seem always to have felt the arabesque out of place in a pilaster, where strength, or the appearance of it, was required, as, for example, in the Florentine example referred to, the Sacristy of Santo Spirito, where the pilasters are fluted. But Bramante seems to have overcome such scruples, if he ever had them himself, and from this time for half a century, the ornamental pilaster, perhaps unfortunately, became an indispensable feature of north Italian work.

Leaving the immediate surroundings of Milan we might travel through Lombardy by way of Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, and by gradual change of feature and treatment, scarcely be conscious, on arrival at Venice, of any distinctive character separating the Milanese and Venetian schools. Their individuality will appear more clearly if we transport ourselves at once to Venice. A few sentences are, however, necessary to explain the peculiar position of this capital.

The Republic of Venice reached the pinnacle of her greatness about the end of the fifteenth century, having extended her dominion seawards to Dalmatia and Crete, and landwards to Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and as far as Bergamo, almost at the gates of Milan. These Italian cities were all acquired during the fifteenth century, and in the market place of each of them was set up the Lion of Saint Mark in token of their subjugation. We naturally, therefore, look for, and find in these towns signs of Venetian influence during that period, and for some time afterwards. But there is another side to the shield. Conquerors have always been willing to learn art from those they have been able to subjugate, and the constant feuds

* *Memoirs of* Benvenuto Cellini.

with the Milanese were the indirect means of introducing much Lombardic influence into Venetian territory. The architect of the Porta della Carta, for example, was a native of Bergamo, and the Lombardi family, who so enriched Venice with their works, belonged probably, as the name suggests, to some part of Lombardy. In this, as in other tendencies, Venice very much resembled Rome, which gathered to itself, in the time of its greatness, the styles of the known world. For Venice was another meeting place of East and West, in its early years assimilating Byzantine and Arabic, and now in the sixteenth century, turning to amalgamate with its own heterogeneous styles, the rising renaissant art of the Milanese: not that of Florence, be it observed.

One of the first things that strikes one in studying this matter, is the fact that the first appearance of a truly Renaissance building in Venice is so late as about 1480. When it is remembered that Brunelleschi had begun his career by building the Capella Pazzi at Florence in 1420, that the Palazzo Riccardi dated from 1430, and that eager hands all over Italy were carrying on the style Brunelleschi had initiated, it is remarkable that sixty years should elapse before its adoption at Venice, and that it should reflect so little Florentine character. Various circumstances unite to account for this, and a very brief outline of its history will serve to make it comprehensible.

The original stock from whom Venice takes its name were the Veneti, who peopled the district round Padua, on the mainland, in very early times. In the second century before Christ they concluded an alliance with Rome, and in the time of the emperors the district prospered greatly. Padua, their capital, after Rome, the wealthiest town at that time in Italy, was destroyed by the Northern hordes, a remnant of the inhabitants taking refuge in the islands of the Lagune, where they came under the protection of the Eastern Emperor, who was represented by an Exarch at Ravenna. Rudely separated from their native soil, they began life anew on the desolate mud-banks of Torcello and Rivoalto, and out of hardness and toil and obscurity proceeded the greatest of the mediæval republics. By the time of the fifteenth century Venice was the emporium of the commerce of Europe, and had great power and influence both by land and sea. Its history was therefore of a unique

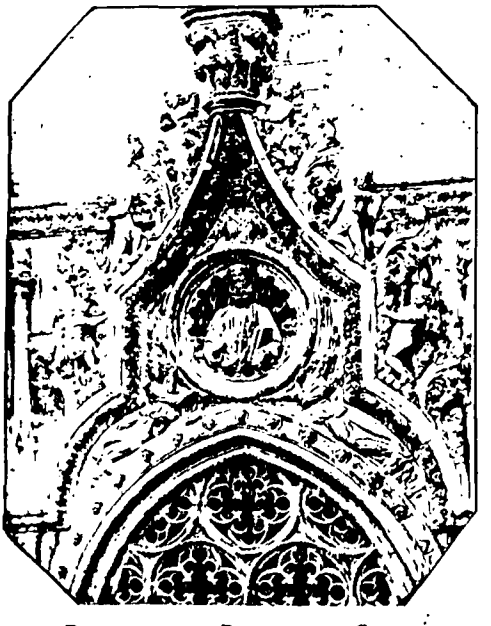
character, and in relation to such ancient cities as Florence and Rome, it stood much as America stands to the older powers of Europe. The enthusiasm of ancient history was lost upon it. Venetians could not look back on a great Etrurian civilization, from which even Florence felt proud to claim descent; nor could they ardently join in the contemplation of the past glories of a world-wide empire. Instead of the shadow they had the substance, and if in the fifteenth century they had not surpassed the conquests and greatness of ancient Rome, they perhaps fondly imagined that they had. Thus the element of sympathy was wanting, and it was possible that they had a touch of contempt for the Florentines, in so far as they lived in the past among the ancient manuscripts, rather than in the present. But a more potent cause of contempt presents itself in the events of the period. In 1438 the Florentines most generously came to the assistance of the Venetians in endeavouring to preserve Bergamo and Brescia, threatened by the Duke of Milan, and for several years they fought side by side against the Milanese. Various circumstances led the Florentines to take another view of things, and promptly to go over to the enemy. In retaliation the Venetians, about 1440, published a decree expelling every Florentine, and forbidding them the exercise of any commerce within the town. The war between Venice and Florence, in 1467, was a farther result of this bitterness, though directly instigated by the exiles from Florence. No territorial changes resulted from this "war," which, "in accordance with the custom of the times,"* did not occasion a single death, and consisted of "some slight skirmishes," and the wounding of a few horses, each side behaving with quite remarkable cowardice; but it had its effect in still farther alienating the two powerful neighbours. Altogether it is not surprising that Venice should have drawn her architects and the forms of her architecture, not from Florence directly, but rather from the districts of Lombardy which she had conquered and naturalized, although, as we shall find, she put her own stamp upon them.

It has been shown that there was no transition in Florence. Although Brunelleschi frequently retained Gothic ideas and

* Machiavelli's *History of Florence.*

ROYAL

systems, his personal study of the antique forms at Rome had led him to attempt nothing less than their restoration in purity; and some of his pupils and successors in Florence went even farther, and attempted not only the revival of the technic, but of the Roman architecture. But one can readily understand that in the more remote parts of the country the new or resuscitated forms would graft themselves upon those in use, not, perhaps, so much because their architects loved them, as that they could not resist the tendency towards their reproduction. The first indication of this in Venice is to be found in the western or Piazzetta façade of the Doges' Palace, though at first sight or in general form there appears nothing classical about it. Part of this was built in the years 1424 to 1442 in continuation of the Gothic palace, thus beginning a little later but almost coincident with the building of Brunelleschi's dome, and his palaces and classical churches. And even at this date there is nothing in the elevation to justify its being classified as transitional work, although in the details of the capitals of the eleven bays next to the entrance, there is an absence of the symbolism which characterises the series on the sea front, and the introduction of classical subjects.* But in the Porta della Carta (so called from the cards or placards announcing the edicts of the Republic) you see omens more unmistakable of the new art influence. The composition is wholly Gothic, but signs of classical influence are observable in the treatment of the mouldings and in the shell, though this form might at any time be looked for in a



DETAIL OF THE PORTA DELLA CARTA, DOGES' PALACE, VENICE.

* Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, in the second volume of which there is a remarkable account of these sculptures.

city whose boundaries were the salt sea waves. The strongest indication of classical feeling is the admixture of cupids among the leaves, for in the words of a recent writer, "it was already the time of the Renaissance, and all the uncleanly gods of the heathen, with all their fables, were coming back, for the diversion and delight of the licentious and learned."* This was the work (1439—43) of Bartolemeo Buon, the Bergamo architect already mentioned. The name is inscribed on the

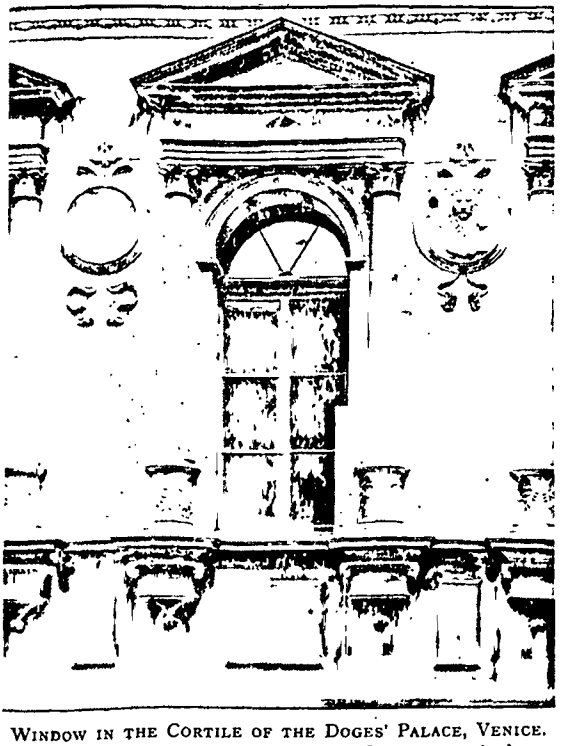
GIANTS' STAIRCASE, DOGES' PALACE, VENICE.

lintel of the door below, simply "Opus Bartolemei." In the interior of the court there are clearer signs of Renaissance influence, but this is some fifty or sixty years later in date, and after buildings on purely classical lines had been erected in Venice. Even then, however, the pointed arch has been constructed, so firm were the roots of the Venetian Gothic. The little façade beyond the Giants' Stair is worthy of notice, being the work (in 1520) of another Bergamo architect, known

* Mrs. Oliphant's *Makers of Venice*. The quotation is a good example of the English literary point of view, which submissively continues to accept the doctrine of the Renaissance as a pestilent and sensual art, promulgated in Ruskin's biassed work, noble and beautiful in spite of its extraordinary interpretation of history.

as Guglielmo Bergamosco, and the detail of the window gives a good idea of the character of his work. The staircase itself belongs to the end of the fifteenth century, and was executed by Antonio Bregni (Rizzi); but Sansovino's statues of Mars and Neptune, from which it derives its name, belong to the middle of the sixteenth century.

Almost fresh from the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan, and Bramante's Sacristy of San Satiro, let us visit a church at Venice, one of the earliest and best examples, Santa Maria dei Miracoli, begun six or seven years after those Milanese buildings. The first thing that will strike one is the shape of the cupola, which suggests the domes of Saint Mark. Like the dome of St. Mark, too, it is over a square plan, although even from the exterior we can see that it is not carried upon arches; in fact the position is unusual, being above the chancel. The composition from this point of view is extremely pleasing. The simple and artless way in which the coloured marbles are inlaid is delightful. In examples only a few years later we find them framed and suspended with ribbons in a somewhat ridiculous fashion. But what can be said of the composition of the principal elevation (page 56)? The smugness and woodenness so painfully apparent are in part due to moderr restoration, but under no circumstances could it have ranked as a successful composition. The fact is, that the church

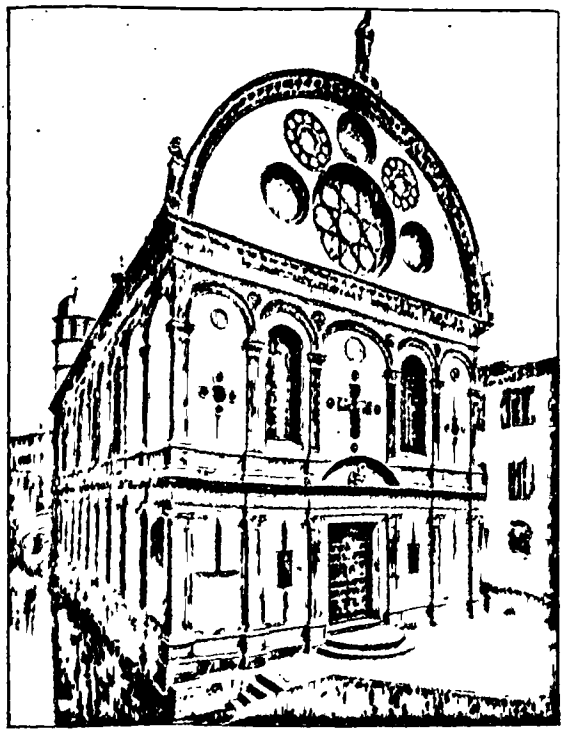


WINDOW IN THE CORTILE OF THE DOGES' PALACE, VENICE. *Bergamosco*, Archt.

exterior was to the early Renaissance architect his most difficult problem, and to the end of his time he never succeeded in solving it. There is scarcely so much as an attempt in Florence —the Church of the Annunziata is smothered in a long and deep portico mainly of the seventeenth century, and the San Salvator del Monte is severely plain and almost barn-like, despite some merit. To the exterior of these this one bears no resemblance, and scarcely more to the Certosa or Santa Maria delle Grazie. Whence then had Lombardo his prototype or suggestion for this exterior? A reasonable theory is that these scattered pilasters are really the classicising of the Romanesque pilaster strips, which the architect might see any day at San Zeno, Verona, the Romanesque buildings at Venice, or at the earlier buildings of Ravenna, where they are simple brick projections, joined by round arches at the top. As for the round roof and pediment, we do not meet with them in other districts in early Romanesque work, and it is quite apparent that the form is suggested by the Byzantine roofs of St. Mark's. Here, however, the form is openly confessed, and is not hidden behind an ogee frilling of crockets, as on the Cathedral. The facts seem to be either that Pietro Lombardo had a somewhat hazy idea of what classical architecture was, although he had acquired (most probably in Lombardy) a Roman technic, or that he was even less desirous than Brunelleschi of constructing a Græco-Roman edifice. It appears that he sought, with what knowledge he possessed, to purify the current architecture of Venice, and

EXTERIOR OF CHANCEL, S. MARIA DEI MIRACOLI, VENICE
P. Lombardo, Archt.

tried to get to the roots of things. In so doing he traced the strips to the pilaster, and in the ogee sky-line of St. Mark's he found a corruption of the true late Roman form of roof, which he restored in comparative purity. For it need not be explained that the roofs of St. Mark's, like genuine Byzantine roofs, and, to go further back, like the roofs of the Basilica of Constantine and the Roman baths, were round wagon vaults, showing both internally and externally.

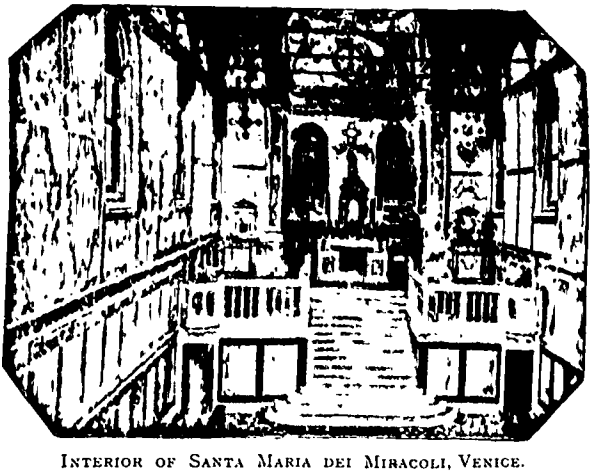


FACADE OF SANTA MARIA DEI MIRACOLI, VENICE.
P. Lombardo, Archt.

If further proof were wanting that the type of the early Venetian Renaissance was not something outside Venice, not Greek or Roman buildings, surely the College of St. Mark (Plate 18) would be sufficient to clinch the argument. The likeness to the façade of the Cathedral of St. Mark is strikingly close, and there can be no doubt that to a certain extent it formed the model on which this curious structure was designed. We cannot say that it shows an advance upon its prototype, but its designer (Martino Lombardo) was honest in his aim of refining the proportions, and purifying Byzantine detail, having traced it back to its classic source. There certainly never was a building quite like it in Rome, or Roman Italy, and it is on the whole the most fantastic work of the early Renaissance. One remarkable feature about the front is the attempt to picture a colonnade in perspective relief. Even in this the recessed doorways of St. Mark's are suggested. The building

SCUOLA DI SAN MARCO, VENICE

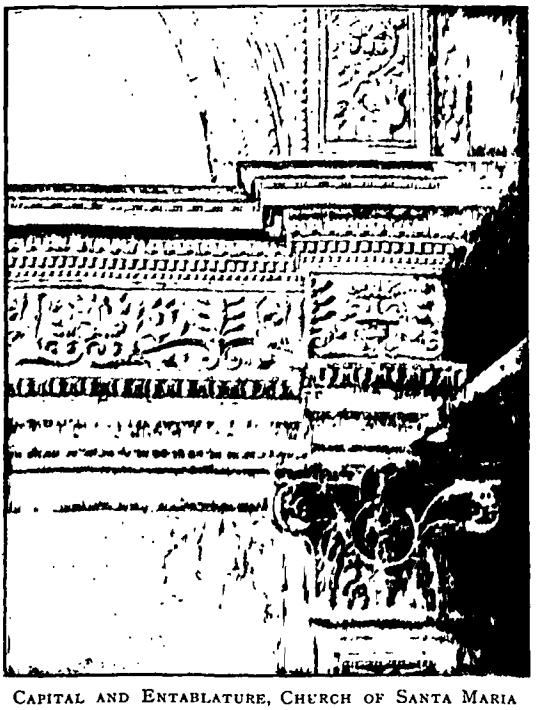
is about ten or eleven years later than San Satiro at Milan, and it is possible that the monstrous idea originated there, though in this case without the excuse it had in Milan, that it was forced upon the architect, and was merely an expedient to overcome a serious difficulty. But such caprices were not uncommon among the architects of the time, and in many similar ways did they exhibit their delight at the discovery of their ability to represent on a limited plane surface the effects of distance and foreshortening. "How charming a thing is this perspective; oh, if I could only get you to understand the delights of it!" the painter, Paolo Uccelli, who was the first to apply it to advantage, was wont to say to his wife when she nightly called him from his arduous labours to repose. So entirely did he give himself up to the fascinating pursuit that he failed to rise above mediocrity in the general sphere of his profession, notwithstanding great abilities. And so it might be said that these architects, in their huge delight in the new science, had by its abuse imperilled their own reputation and that of their works for anything else but oddity. There is often more than one way of classifying an object or a series, and you may not then be surprised to learn that Ruskin classifies this and the other buildings of our subject along with the "Gothic School," and as "consisting of its first corruptions." No architect will hold this view for a moment; for he knows that between the Doges' Palace façade and such a one as this there is nothing less than an architectural revolution, but the terms may be transferred to a bit of building adjoining the façade, which is strictly transitional, and may be so classified—the doorway, namely, of the Church of Santi



INTERIOR OF SANTA MARIA DEI MIRACOLI, VENICE.
P. Lombardo, Archt.

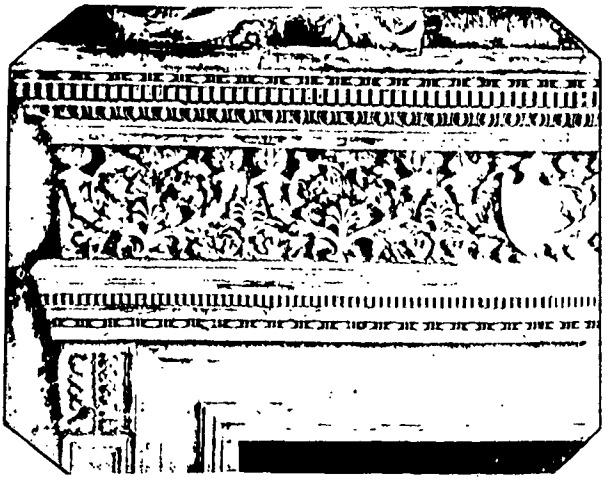
Giovanni e Paolo, on the right hand of Plate 18, with its pointed arch springing from an entablature of classic form.

In the interior of the Church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli the architect shows much more skill than in his treatment of its exterior. The work is of a very high order indeed, and one of the finest examples of its kind. The whole walls are lined with marble slabs, separated by stiles of slight projection, and of a stronger colour, in most severely simple rectangles. All the carving on the white marble pilasters and doorways is of the most refined and delicate description. The roof is barrel vaulted, being also round outside, and at the springing internally rises from an arcade formed of small transverse coves. The arrangement of the chancel and the two ambone with the doors right under is unique, but the high and steep stairway recalls the rude flight of steps which intersects "the stern ledges that sweep round the altar of Torcello." Changed, however, is the disposition of the arrangements from the mother church in the ninth century, where the bishop sat in the east end of the apse facing the people, the altar being in front of him. Here the priest perforce turns his back to the people, and all the change from the Communion to the Mass is manifested; in such ways does architecture chronicle history. At the other end square marble pillars support a gallery, which is screened off from the rest of the church, forming a separate room. The illustration is of the exquisite frieze and capital at the chancel arch, among



CAPITAL AND ENTABLATURE, CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DEI MIRACOLI, VENICE.
P. Lombardo, Archt.

the most beautiful of the period anywhere. The style is usually called by ornamentists the *cinque cento*, but the finest examples belong to the last quarter of the *quattro cento*, or the *four*teen *hundreds* (or, as we call it, fifteenth century); and there is possibly more of the arabesque ornament in Italy belonging to the *quattro cento* than the *cinque cento*. This precious example is distinguished by a simple naturalism, as in the treatment of the leaves and birds, and in the amphibious element appropriate to the Venetians. The distinctive Roman enriched moulding is tenderly sculptured as it never was in Rome, whilst the frieze is undercut like most Venetian work, but in a most reserved and delicate manner.

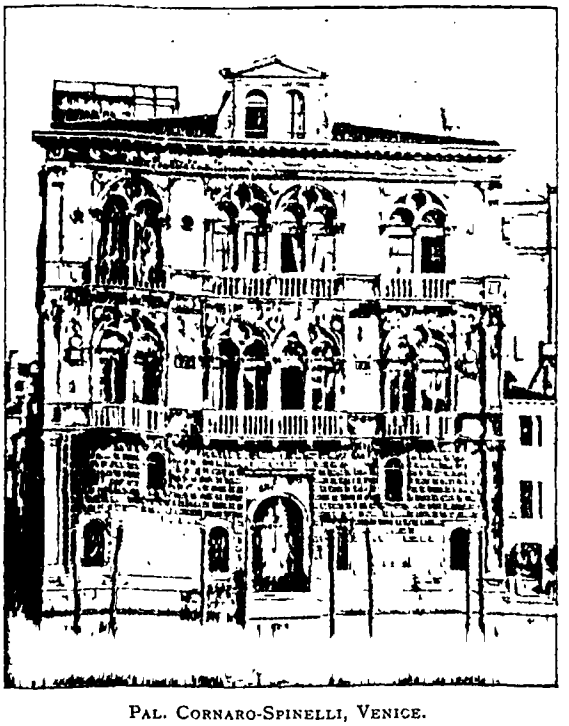


ENTABLATURE OVER DOOR, DOGES' PALACE, VENICE.

A richer but scarcely finer example of Venetian carving is the frieze from a doorway in the Doges' Palace. Here, instead of the low relief of the last example, or the still lower relief of Florentine work, there is very bold under-cutting, the forms of the leafage and the whole feeling suggesting seaweed as much as anything, and quite likely it may have been inspired by that form of vegetation, the most familiar to the Venetians, as the acanthus to the Greeks, or as the oak leaf to the English. The bracket is a very daintily executed piece of work, with considerable natural freedom, and the panelled architrave, which in Florence would probably be the part most enriched, is left severely plain.

The Grand Canal, the finest curved street in the world, is lined, almost from end to end, with the palazzi of the great Venetian families. These are of all periods, from the Byzantine to the eighteenth century, but there are few indeed, which in simple grace and beauty can vie with the Palazzo Cornaro-

Spinelli, presumably a work of the Lombardi. The designer, whoever he was, had in this case, some notion of the work at Florence initiated fifty years before; at least, one would be inclined to infer so from the rusticated basement, of which this is the first example in Venice. The free distribution of the windows in the basement is interesting, and shows the advantage of being sometimes relieved of the orders. These are employed only in the form of pilasters, strengthening and stiffening the angles. The plain wall space between the windows gives relief, and sufficient contrast is afforded to the two similar upper storeys by the varying shapes of the balconies, and the overhanging of the upper balcony over the lower tier, the topmost storey being surmounted by a simple entablature of small projection. The trefoil balcony is a beautiful feature, but what should be specially noticed is the Gothic roundness of the sections of the window tracery bars, and the beautiful leaf form of the eye, which in other examples becomes a circle.

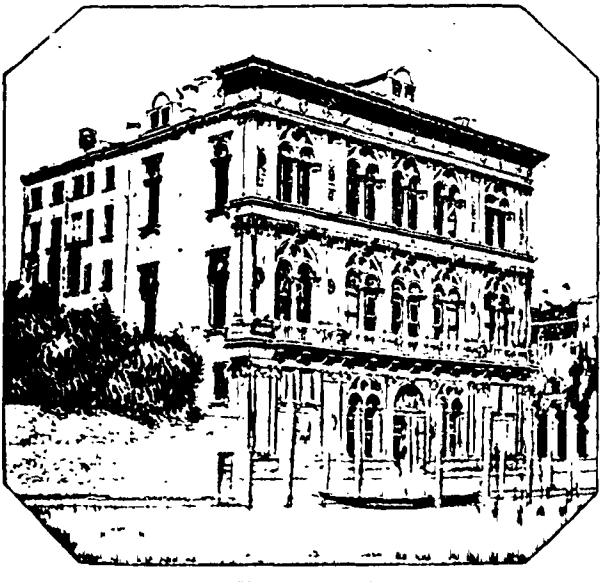


PAL. CORNARO-SPINELLI, VENICE.

The Palazzo Vendramini (1481), by Pietro Lombardo, is another of more advanced character, but still within our limits. The tracery has assumed a more classical character, the tracery bars are flatter in the face, partaking more of the nature of archivolts, and the eye has been depraved to a spherical form. The orders are applied throughout, and the monotony of an equal division of height to some extent avoided by the introduction of a balcony at the principal floor, and the irregular and

CONFRATERNITA DI SAN ROCCO, VENICE.

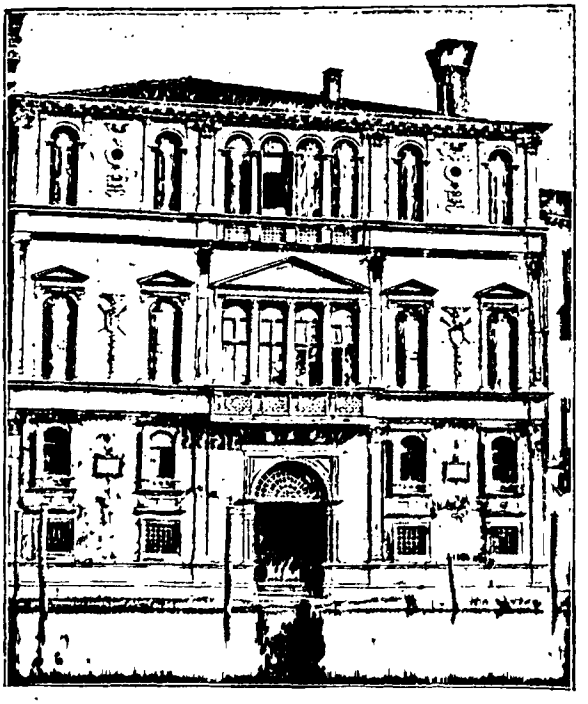
massive treatment of the basement, while in horizontal spacing it is counteracted by the grouping of the central windows in the manner characteristic of all Venetian building of every age. This irregularity, which has given to Venetian domestic architecture much of its charm, arises in a very simple way. These Venetian palazzi were nearly always detached blocks, and light was to be obtained from the sides as well as the front and back. Instead, therefore, of two suites of rooms, one behind another, lighted, one from the front and one from the back, the habit was formed of having three parallel suites, extending from front to back, the central one being the grand hall, occupying sometimes the full depth of the building, and lighted from front and back. It was thus necessary to secure as much light as possible for the hall at each end, and so the windows were massed together in the centre of the façade. The plan and section of the larger Palazzo Cornaro (Plates 43, 44) will give some idea of the prevalent arrangement.



PAL. VENDRAMINI, VENICE.
P. Lombardo, Archt.

With the exception of these palaces there is no better representation of the early Renaissance in Venice than the Confraternita di San Rocco (begun 1517), and nowhere is the exuberant imagination of the artists seen to better advantage (Plate 19). Especially is this the case in the façade to the little court, with the broken entablature and detached columns, which is here shown much foreshortened. The first striking feature is the wreath round the fluted pillars, one being of

interlaced vine, another of laurel, and another of oak. The abacus of the capitals is supported by figure at the angles, and at the corners of the plinth, where in mediæval work one sometimes finds the spur, are carved animals, elephants, lions, bears, four inches high. Less interesting, but showing excellent treatments of windows, are the other façades. The sections of the jambs are particularly good, and the lower window a capital example of the Renaissance tracery. The upper window and the classicised niche are also worthy of study, but are not so happy as the lower window, which is almost certainly inspired by the Palazzo Cornaro-Spinelli.



PAL. CONTARINI DELLE FIGURE, VENICE.

The Palazzo Contarini delle Figure is also of this period, though possibly a little later than any of the other domestic examples mentioned. The traceried windows have been given up, and single windows of very high proportion substituted. The central windows are grouped as usual, but the pediment over them is something of an innovation, and not particularly successful. Between the windows of the mezzanine over the water storey, and between the arched windows of the top floor, are the pateras and oblongs of coloured marbles, already referred to in connection with the Miracoli church, but in this case framed with mouldings and tied up with ribbons. Striking features in the principal storey are the trophies suspended from the tops of trees, off which the

MARBLE PILASTER, CAPELLA GESU, SANT'ANASTASIA, VERONA.

branches have been lopped, with just a stray leaf delicately carved, here and there, almost upon the wall surface. Ruskin has suggested that it is as if the workman had intended to leave us an image of the expiring naturalism of his so-styled "Gothic School."

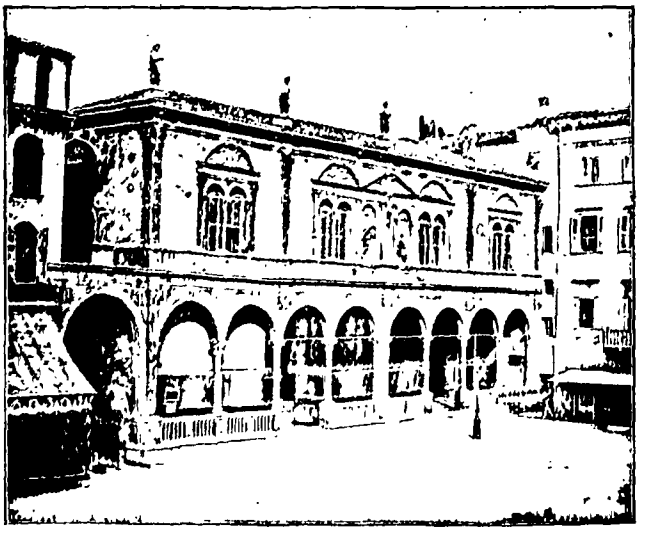
In the towns lying between Venice and Milan, as has been already indicated, the character of the work suggests influence from both sides. Verona, almost the first town we come to travelling westward, has in the little Capella Gesu, in the Church of Sant' Anastasia, some of the richest ornament of the style. The drawing forming Plate 20 shows a part of it, but conveys no adequate impression of the minute delicacy of the pencillings of its leaves and flowers. The finish is probably carried too far; it is advanced work, and almost out of our limits. The lectern, choir stalls and other *intarsia* and carved woodwork of date 1499, in Santa Maria in Organo, are interesting, and the block will serve to show the delicate curvature of its brackets, and the rich open cresting of the desk, recalling the crowning ornaments of the Certosa near Milan.

CHURCH FURNITURE IN SANTA MARIA IN ORGANO, VERONA.

In Verona there is also the Palazzo del Consiglio, or Town-house, a work of Fra Giocondo, one of the many versatile geniuses which the time produced, and a native of the town. The arcade will suggest that of Brunelleschi at Florence in its treatment; but Brunelleschi would have avoided the division which places the pilaster in the middle of the front. It also

differs from the Florentine loggie in the free use of the arabesque pilaster. The façade is crowned with the statues of eminent natives of Verona, in one of which we recognise our old friend Vitruvius Pollio, of classic memory.

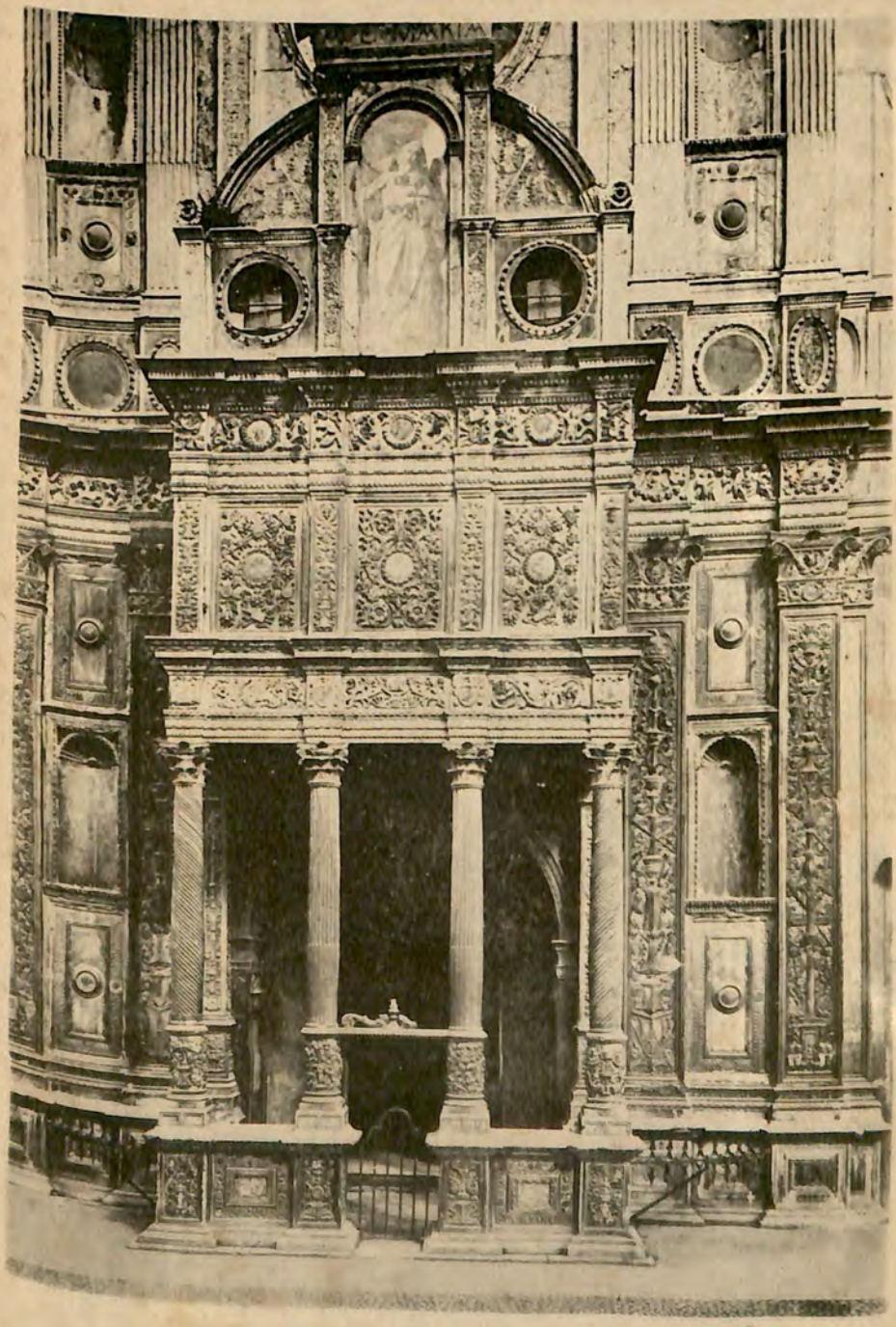
Travelling farther in the direction of Milan, our half-way house is Brescia, where two buildings might well detain us. The Palazzo Municipio or La Loggia is one of the largest and most splendid works in the north Italian cities. Begun about 1489 by Fromentone of Vicenza, some of its later decoration was contributed by Jacopo Sansovino and Palladio. It inclines in



PAL. CONSIGLIO, VERONA.

Giocondo, ARCHT.

its design more nearly to Roman models than any of so early a period in the north. More characteristic if less dignified is the Church of La Madonna dei Miracoli (Plate 21) with a façade perhaps the most ornamental of its class. Lying in the dominion of Venice at the time, and yet near enough to Milan to be influenced by the earlier school there, it is just what we would naturally expect. Sharing some of the faults of the early Renaissance exteriors, it marks an advance in composition on the church at Venice dedicated to the same saint. Its ornamental details are equal in delicacy and refinement to those in the interior of that building, but their appropriateness to an exterior treatment is at least open to question. The candelabra



PORCH AND PART FACADE OF LA MADONNA DEI MIRACOLI, BRESCIA.

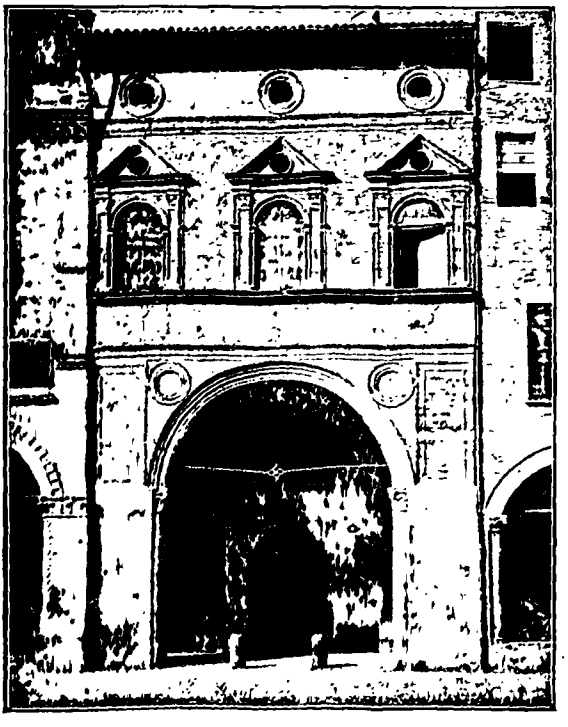
(which do not appear in Venice) in the panels, are fanciful to the extreme in design, and of superb workmanship, entering into details of inconceivable minuteness. On the frieze on the left side of the porch may be observed a miniature sculpture picture of the Nativity, while the corresponding space on the other side is occupied by the Baptism of our Saviour. The most remarkable feature of the church is the porch, with its richly treated order, suffering much from the larger scale of the main pilasters.

APSE OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE, BERGAMO, WITH COLLEONI CHAPEL.

The Capella Colleoni, at Bergamo, where was buried Bartolomeo Colleoni, whose noble equestrian monument at Venice is better known, is, as far as it goes, an example of almost Florentine grace and simplicity, and seems at first sight to upset geographical theories. Here are the corbels, which Brunelleschi uses under the architrave in the Sacristy and Church of San Lorenzo, and the simple panelled pilaster. The Florentine Andrea Verrochio had some part in the statue at Venice, and it is just possible he may have had a hand in this. But the Gothic basement is a more northern touch, as is also the double architrave, a very literal translation of the Gothic recessed orders, and we cannot conceive of a Florentine architect making use of either.

Apart from the capitals of Florence, Venice, and Milan, no city seems to have prospered at this period more than Bologna, which is crowded with early palazzi of a somewhat distinct character. Their workmanship, unfortunately, is crude, and never rises to a very high level, except in the Palazzo

Bevilacqua-Vincenzi; and it is only in the court of this building that great excellence is attained (Plate 22). Notwithstanding a slight tameness of design, especially in the repetition of the architrave and cornice over the upper and lower tiers of arches, it captivates by its fine proportions and its charming detail, and there is scarcely a finer cortile in all Italy. Another well-known example in the same town is that of the Fava, but this, though interesting for its huge corbels, as well as its moulded brick façade, is of much less merit than the Bevilacqua cortile. The Bevilacqua exterior differs from most of those in Bologna in that it is without the continuous arched loggia, which, forming the footpath of the street, runs below the principal floor of the houses; but in poverty of exterior design and detail they are all much alike. Of the smaller dwellings, the Casa Tacconi is the most interesting. Here, as at Milan, brick and terra cotta are the materials most readily to hand, and affect the character of the buildings. But there was no school of architecture in Bologna, and such quality as is expressed by the work may be said to be eclectic, borrowing from all sides, but losing entirely the simplicity and breadth which distinguishes that of Florence, and by coarseness of execution failing to catch the refined grace and sumptuous elegance characteristic both of Venetian and Lombardic design.



CASA TACCONI, BOLOGNA.

CORTILE OF THE PALAZZO BEVILACQUA-VINCENZI, BOLOGNA.

Taking the Early North Italian work as a whole, we note in its favour that it is marked by great delicacy and refinement of ornamental details, far excelling in this respect anything of the kind executed during the Roman Empire, and only to be matched by the work of the best periods of Greek art. Much of it, however, is frittered and frivolous, and even in the best examples it frequently errs on the side of minuteness and excess. In the nature of the North Italian ornament there survives some of the old Lombard fire and energy, as well as its love of the grotesque, the same spirit which decorated the front of San Michele at Lucca and the doorway of San Zeno, but the legendary character of Lombard ornament, and also the symbolism of Byzantine art, gradually dies out under the new principle of simple devotion to the beautiful for its own sake. The very concentration of care and thought on the details seems to have hindered proper attention to design in mass, so that, but for one or two exceptions, it was exceedingly defective, confused, or fantastic in composition. During all its course it remained experimental, for if exception be made in favour of one or two of the dwelling-houses, there is no building which is complete within and without, and is entirely satisfactory. Its importance, therefore, does not rest entirely on what was achieved at the time, but in the power of composition and command over detail, which its gradual unfolding placed in the hands of the masters of the culminating period which succeeded.

The argument that the Renaissance, being purely imitative, is unworthy of study, or of being placed in the same category as the preceding styles, against which contention it was possible to make a case even in Florence, becomes more unfair and even ridiculous in the face of such buildings and such ornament as the North Italian districts present. But instead of taking the view already noticed, that the early Renaissance consists in the first corruptions of the Gothic School, we might, with more truth, take the very opposite view, that it consisted in a purification of the corrupt Italian Gothic and Romanesque. The architects of the time, their eyes opened to the beauty of the antique forms, and a working knowledge of ancient principles attained to, looked on the illogical Italian Gothic forms and treatments in a new light, and saw in them merely corruptions of the old Roman methods. Such buildings as the

Cornaro-Spinelli and the Vendramini cannot with any show of reason be described as corrupt Gothic buildings; they are certainly developments of the Gothic palaces, whose chief features they present, but treated with the Roman technic, which all along had been most applicable to the classical forms the Italians chose to retain during the mediæval period, and to which in the degradation and exhaustion of their Gothic style they very naturally and properly turned. Thus the Early Renaissance, particularly in North Italy, if not deemed worthy of the status of a distinct style, might be better described as a complex combination of styles rather than a revival of any one in particular. Much of what was good and useful in the Byzantine and mediæval tradition and local characteristics was preserved in every new work, while to these were added, or restored, the classical forms and treatment of orders, ornament, and moulding, which seemed to the designers the purest and best. No one building bears the slightest resemblance to any particular building the Romans or Greeks erected, and there is no reason to believe that its designer intended that it should, while there is abundant evidence that the architects of Venice, at least, were inspired by a natural and patriotic admiration of the great monuments of early Venetian history.

CENTRAL PERIOD 1506—1550.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CULMINATION IN ROME (1506—1540).

CAUSES TENDING TO THE CULMINATION OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ROME — CONTEMPORARY EVENTS — THE TRANSITIONAL BUILDINGS — BRAMANTE'S INFLUENCE AND METHODS—THE ATTEMPTED FUSION OF GREEK AND ROMAN CONSTRUCTION—THE SHAKING OFF OF LINGERING MEDIÆVAL TRADITIONS—RENAISSANCE CONTRASTED WITH LATTER-DAY REVIVALS—BRAMANTE'S TEMPIETTO—THE SUCCESS OF THE REVIVAL—ITS CONSUMMATION IN ROME BOTH APPROPRIATE AND NATURAL — AN EUROPEAN INFLUENCE—MASTERS OF THE PERIOD—ANTONIO SANGALLO, PERUZZI, RAFFAELLO, MICHELANGELO — PAL. FARNESE — THE ASTYLAR CHARACTER OF ITS EXTERIOR — CORTILE AN EXAMPLE OF COMBINED CONSTRUCTION CHARACTERISTIC OF CENTRAL PERIOD—PAL. MASSIMI—ITS GRECIAN FLAVOUR — HOUSE IN VIA GIULIA — CHURCH AT MONTEPULCIANO—ST. PETER'S, ROME—EARLY PROGRESS AND INTERRUPTIONS—SCHEMES OF BRAMANTE, RAFFAELLO, PERUZZI, SANGALLO — MICHELANGELO'S WORK — THE INTERIOR — ITS EFFECT — EXTERIOR WANT OF EFFECT — CHARACTER OF CULMINATING PERIOD AS A WHOLE — ATTENTION TO PROPORTION AND *TOUT ENSEMBLE* — DETAIL SUBORDINATE—REVIVAL OF GREEK METHODS—PREFERENCE FOR RECTANGULAR OUTLINES — PASSION FOR FIGURE DESIGN AND DECORATION — HIGH IDEALS OF RENAISSANCE ART.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CULMINATION IN ROME.

To attempt to weigh the various agencies which gave being and form to the period of artistic activity known as the culmination of the Renaissance, giving to each cause its proper effect, would be an utterly impossible task. But some of them may be clearly apprehended: on the one hand, the growth of the wealth and power of the Church, not as a church merely; the forcible, ambitious and statesmanlike character of Pope Julius II.; the gravitation of aristocratic families to Rome; the social rivalry:—these gave the opportunity and rough-hewed the schemes. Prepared at every point to shape them were the striking artistic personalities of the day, the cumulative results of a long line and unbroken tradition of fifteenth century artists who shared common ideals and worked together in friendly rivalry. When to "Mars" in the shape of Julius II. succeeded "Pallas"* in Leo X., a Medici of the Florentine house, in full sympathy with the beautiful arts, the happy moment was prolonged, and thus even a clerical despotism became for a brief season the home of art and culture. Minor influences on the part of the artists were the diversity of their training in different parts of Italy, and the sensible modification wrought in each case by actual contact with the monuments of ancient Rome, which seems to have blended dissimilitude of individual taste and training in a perfect harmony.

The whole period is comprised between the years 1506—50, and the briefest possible summary of contemporary events will be an advantage. We have seen that 1492, the memorable year which hailed the discovery of a new world, and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and with these events the rise of that country, witnessed in the death of Lorenzo il

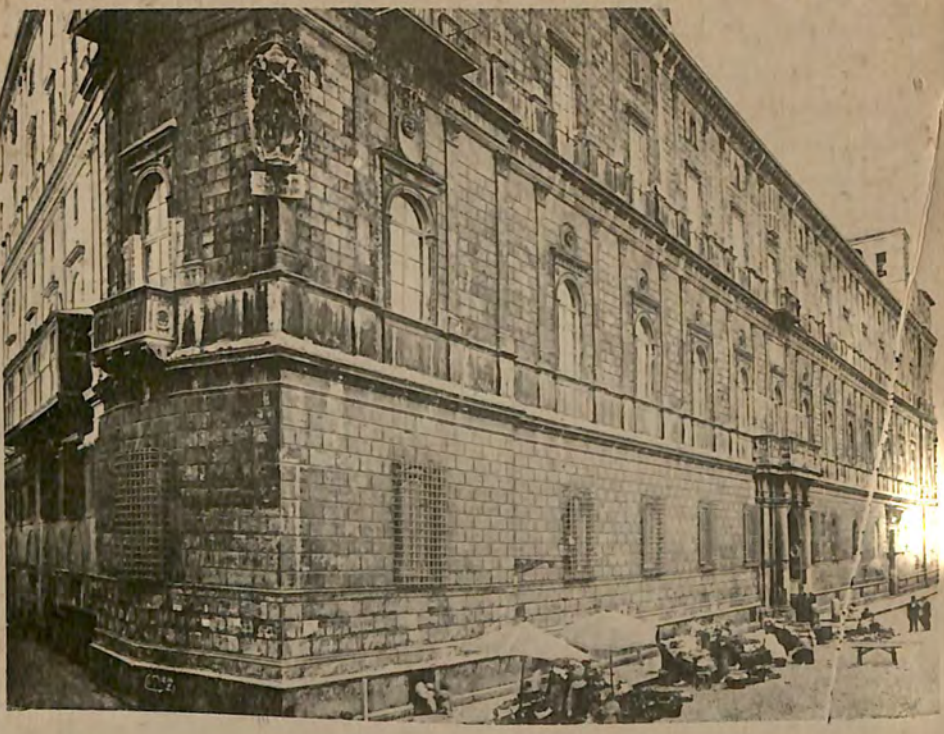
* The reference is to the Latin couplet of Agostino Chigi, which he displayed at the accession of Leo X., and which hits off with more than ordinary candour the character of the last two predecessors in the papal chair:

"Once Venus ruled; then Mars usurped the throne;
Now Pallas calls those favoured seats her own."

Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*

Magnifico, the end of the good fortune of the Republic of Florence. Two years later the entry of Charles VIII. of France, at the call of Ludovico Sforza of Milan, in a campaign against Naples, inaugurated a most distressful period for the whole of Italy, during which it was ravaged by Germans, French and Spaniards: and this but the beginning of three and a half centuries of humiliation and oppression, ending only in our own day and generation. In 1508 came about the concert of the powers of France and Spain, the Pope and the German Emperor, against Venice, known as the League of Cambrai. Matters soon took another complexion, and from this period till about 1529 a condition of things approaching anarchy prevailed over the greater part of the peninsula, due to the wars between France and Spain. Rome and Venice seem to have been least affected; Rome by its alliance with the enemies of Italy, and Venice by its own strength and independence. As a result of Pope Clement's duplicity, however, Rome itself, in 1527, suffered siege and pillage at the hands of Charles of Bourbon, acting for the Emperor Charles V. of Spain. From this blow it seems quickly to have recovered, and although on first thought it might appear surprising that the peaceful arts should have preserved a course almost uninterrupted, it must be remembered that the wars of the period were comparatively harmless affairs, and seldom did much damage to property, although gunpowder had long been in use, and battles had assumed a more serious aspect for life during the sixteenth century. These wars certainly retarded the progress of art in North Italy, while tending to its centralization in Rome; and not till peace was declared in 1529 did Venice and Verona find leisure and security enough to build their greatest palaces. Much of the available talent of the country was for a time devoted to fortification building, but this was not wholly an unmixed evil, for remote as may seem its connection with art it was in this kind of work that Sanmicheli developed that vigorous simplicity of style which distinguished him as an artist, and made his engineering work the pattern and example for all work of a similar class.

There is a vigour of handling, a facility of composition, a richness of modelling, and an artistic reserve which easily distinguish any genuine example of what may be called the Culminating Period from one of the early or later Renaissance.



THE PALAZZO DELLA CANCELLERIA, ROME.

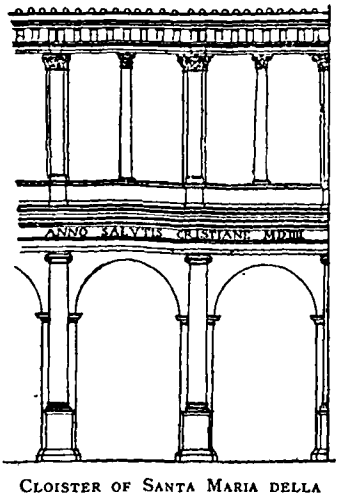
DONATO BRAMANTE, *Archt.*

Naturally, however, there is transition on both sides, and there are some famous buildings which stand across the boundary we have now reached on debatable ground, as for example, certain works of the last decade of Bramante's career, and others of Andrea da Monte Sansovino. To Bramante is generally ascribed the origin of the new tendency, which has been in negative fashion described as a refusal of all elements of design foreign to classical taste. Writers of the period immediately succeeding Bramante, not to speak of those of modern days, give to that artist the undivided glory of "raising up good architecture again, which from ancient time till then had been hidden and kept secret."* With very much more truth this saying might be applied to Brunelleschi, or even to Alberti and Michelozzo. Bramante showed all through his work considerable originality in the variations of his treatment of the classical elements, and in the ingenuity of their adaptation to modern requirements, but he was in a position to benefit greatly by the more remarkable originality of those who had preceded him. So far as we can now judge of him, he appears to have been one of a numerous class who profit more by their skilful appropriation of the ideas of others than by their own imaginative faculty. A new system or arrangement in architecture he cannot be said to have invented, although his work is characterised by a quite remarkable variety and flexibility of treatment of the elements at his disposal. He seems to have revealed to the Roman architects of the day the interest that could be obtained in the simple distribution of features, and the effect that good proportion could give apart from ornament. The revolt from the Lombardy style which is exemplified in the Cancelleria palace (1495—1505) is startling, but such metamorphoses are not infrequent in the work of great artists. Yet there is little in this flat and monotonous façade, with its dry and ineffective decoration, or in the light and over-weighted arcades of the cortile, to justify the theory that Bramante initiated a new era in architecture.† The window and balcony from the south-east corner of this palace (Plate 24) convey an idea of the early character of the detail and orna-

* Serlio's *Five Books of Architecture.*

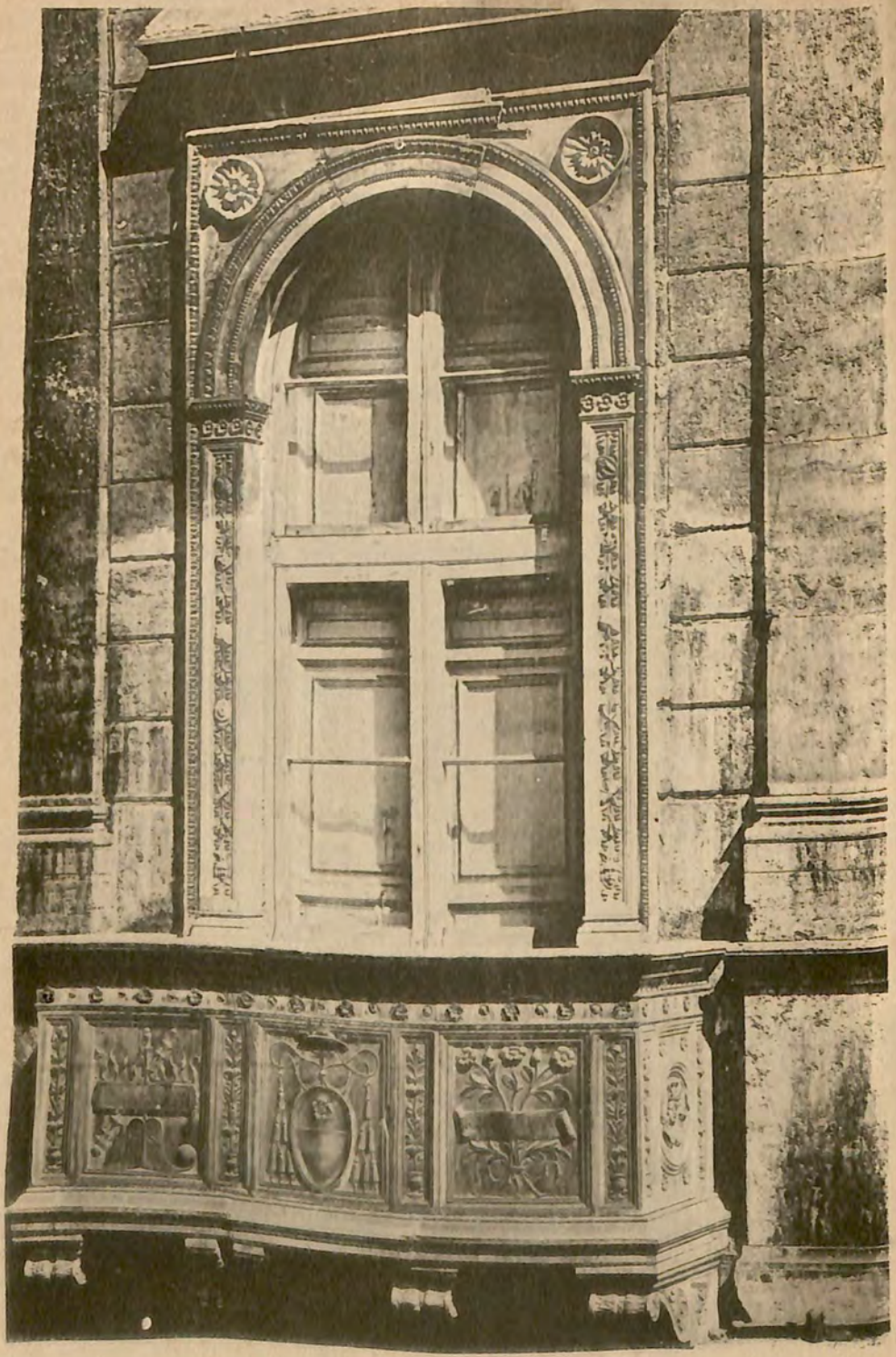
† See Baron H. von Geymüller in *The Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (Vol. VII., New Series) for a eulogy of Bramante, and a very thorough analysis of his systems of working and the proportions he is supposed to have adopted. To that article I am indebted for the outline diagrams.

ment, showing that it at least has no claim to be regarded as of the culminating period or even of leading up to it. The whole treatment is simply that which Bramante brought with him from Lombardy, and is better suited to the brick and terra cotta materials of the district than to Roman travertine or tufa. In general form the pilasters, arch, and spandrils, with their enclosing moulding, are a revival of the very late and debased Roman window of about the fourth century, examples of which were to be seen in many of the northern provinces. But the façade illustrates a system of setting out which constantly recurs in Bramante's work, the greater and lesser interspace, and this play of rhythmical division of pilasters is really all it has to contribute to the progress of architecture. On the other hand it indicates the inroad of a tendency to copyism, the top storey being a close imitation of that of the Colosseum, especially in the interior. Comparing the Palazzo Ruccelai at Florence on page 28, with the Cancelleria, one can appreciate the advantage of the use of the broader and narrower interval alternately, which runs through so much of the work of the architects of this period.



CLOISTER OF SANTA MARIA DELLA PACE, ROME.
Bramante, Archt.

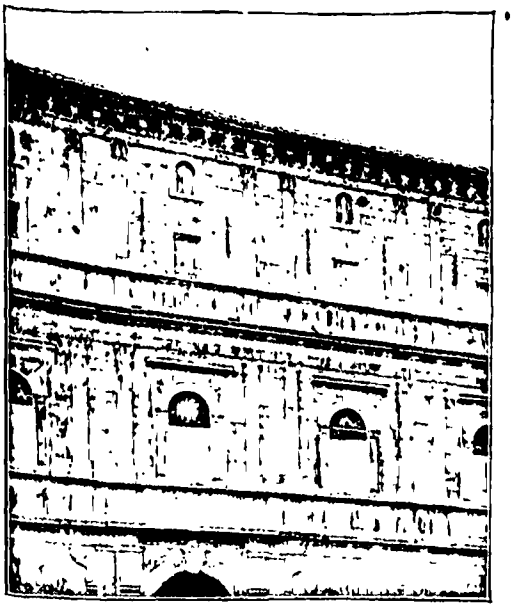
The annexed diagrams enable one to realize the variety which such a treatment affords, and give an idea of certain dispositions which at this period were being introduced, or for the first time really grasped. In the first, which represents the Cloister of Santa Maria della Pace at Rome, a very favourite motif of Bramante's early work is shown, the simple arrangement of two spaces over one, the central pillar of the upper tier loading the crown of the arch below. The Sacristy of San Satiro (page 48) is designed on the same principle. In the next diagram (page 75) the superimposed orders as at the Palazzo Giraud or Torlonia are given, the solid wall being pierced with a late Roman round headed window; while A (page 75) represents the same arrangement carried out at the



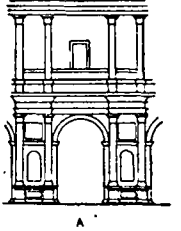
WINDOW AND BALCONY FROM THE PALAZZO DELLA CANCELLERIA. ROME.

DONATO BRAMANTE, *Archt.*

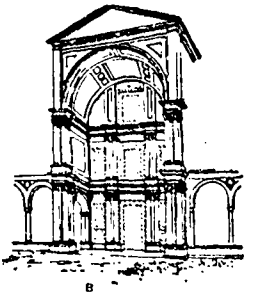
great Belvedere gallery in the Vatican, the wider space being arched and the narrower spaces decorated with niches. This system is evidently suggested by the Roman triumphal arches, and it is only in its continuous application to an exterior that any novelty consists. B represents the front of an earlier church by Bramante, at Abbiategrasso, near Milan, and in this case the pillars are closely coupled and superimposed, the archway being turned from the top of the upper tier. This is a most exceptional treatment, and resembles nothing so much as the doorways of the Church of St. Mark at Venice. The next diagram (C) represents the system known by the French as the "motif a la Palladio," loosely so named, as it was used by the ancients, reintroduced before Palladio's time, and not specially characteristic of his work, although a feature of his Basilica at Vicenza (Plate 48). In this case, the arch in the central space springs from the entablature, which serves to span the lesser side spaces. The concentric archivolts in D are another favourite



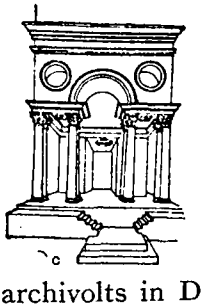
PALAZZO TORLONIA (GIRAUD), ROME.
Bramante, Archt.



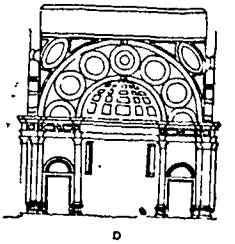
A



B



C



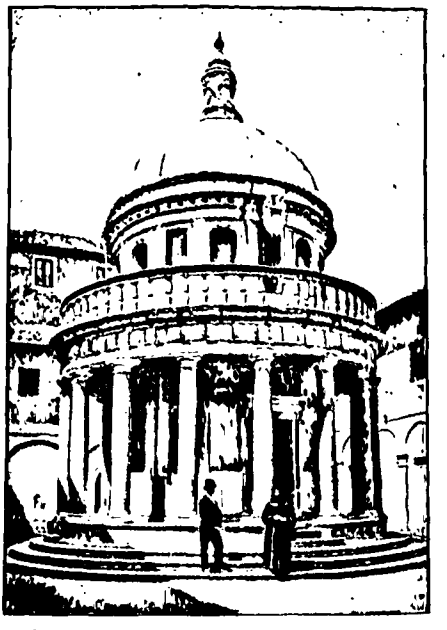
D

device of Bramante, less used by his followers. The germ of this arrangement appears in the interior of the Pazzi Chapel, by Brunelleschi. In Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan (D), they are connected by medallions, and on the doorway from Como Cathedral they are in more sedate fashion united by four-sided panels (Plate 16). It will be observed that nearly all of these variations result from the attempted combination of the lintel and the arch, or, in other words, of the Greek and Etruscan principles. This impossible fusion is at once the logical weakness and the actual vitality of the style. Neither in Latin nor Italian times having been fully worked out, and possibly incapable of solution, it affords scope for originality and great variety of treatment. In one view of it, part of the course of the architecture of ancient Rome was a transition from Greek trabeation to Romanesque vaulted construction. The tendency of the Renaissance was in this matter just in the opposite direction; it did not serve to unite more closely these uncongenial elements, and some of its best examples are those in which the arch is almost if not entirely eliminated. In those instances it is probable that their designers were consciously adopting Greek methods and principles, that they had come to distinguish between Roman and Greek, and in many cases aimed at attaining the spirit of the latter,. the superiority of which they appreciated, however imperfectly they were acquainted with the letter. The words of one of the Italian chroniclers of the sixteenth century,* give a very good idea of their mental attitude to Grecian work:—"The Romanes, although they learned the upright manner of building of the Grecians, neverthelesse, afterward, when they became rulers over the Grecians, it may be that some of them thereby became licencious: but certaynely if a man might see the wonderfull works which the Grecians then did make (which are now almost all spoyled and cast downe in time of warre), hee would assuredly judge the Grecians worke to surpasse that of the Latines farre."

It has been part of the purpose of this book to point out how many of the Romanesque, Gothic and Byzantine elements were intermingled with the early Renaissance of Florence, Milan, and Venice; how little tendency to direct imitation of classic models was manifested: and how slight a bondage

* Serlio in his *Five Books of Architecture*. The quotation is from the quaint translation of 1611.

even to classical principles. But from the first years of the sixteenth century these lingering elements of the Gothic and Romanesque very quickly disappear, and the following of the classic styles is much closer, although there is still no direct reproduction, and the forms and features developed in the Gothic and early Renaissance periods (the church plan and the dome, for example), undergo continuous progress and improvement. Between the tendency of the art of the Renaissance and our fleeting revivals of styles in modern days, there is a great gulf fixed. Had the Italian church-builders of the sixteenth century pursued the architectural methods of the English Gothic revivalists of the last generation, they would have attempted to reproduce the temples, or at least the law court or Basilica, or the form of the Roman houses where the earliest Christian churches assembled. This was not their method, and where their arrangements were not virtually original, designed to meet the wants of the time, they were developments of mediæval or Gothic practice, that is, of the period immediately preceding. There is perhaps one exception to this, Bramante's *Tempietto* in the Cloisters of San Pietro in Montorio (1502)—the exception that proves the rule, because it was erected as a memorial rather than a place of worship, occupying the spot where the cross of Peter the apostle is believed to have stood. And although the form of the building and the columnar arrangement indicate that it had been inspired by the Roman circular temples, there are features which could never have been supposed by their author to be antique in style. Among these are the balustrade, and the bold type of dome, which is certainly far removed from



CHAPEL IN CLOISTERS OF SAN PIETRO IN MONTORIO, ROME.
Bramante, Archt.

that of antiquity. Judged on its own merits the whole design is a beautiful example of simplicity and artistic restraint.

But when all is said it must be freely admitted that the Renaissance from Bramante's day, partakes more essentially of the nature of a classical *revival* than in its earlier stages, and that the arguments hitherto used as to its original, unique, and (in the best sense) time-serving character lose much of their force. We may base our estimate of its value on another ground, that, namely, of its success. For there can be little question that much of what was produced in this first half of the sixteenth century was superior in many ways to anything that had been done before. Never were the arts more perfectly united in a common purpose, nor ever had they abler exponents. In the painting of Botticelli, Raffaello, Sodoma, and Titian, the sculpture of Michelangelo, and the architecture of Peruzzi and Sanmicheli, all art, subsequent to that of Greece, culminated; and the short interval embraced between the years 1506 and 1550, may be regarded as the most brilliant and productive half century in the arts of form which the world has yet seen. And yet there is no Parthenon of the Renaissance, no *magnum opus* in which is enshrined all that is greatest and most perfect in the art of the epoch. Those works which in a measure attain the perfection of the Parthenon, are of small scale and importance, the great projects being rarely if ever completed by their architects during lifetime, and subjected at a later and decadent date to the most lamentable alterations and deviations from the original intention. When along with this the shortness of the period is remembered, a mere flicker compared even with the evanescent flame of Greek art, wonder will not be expressed at the want of complete and representative works, but rather at the profusion and brilliancy of the results. Why it should have been found impossible to maintain it for a longer period is another question, into which we may enter later: meantime, let us enjoy what the genius of the time produced, however short its duration.

In so far as it was a revival of antique art the Renaissance was appropriately consummated in the eternal city, heart of the ancient world: and naturally, for Rome at the end of the fifteenth century had recovered some shadow of its former prosperity, and under the Pope Julius II. became once more at least the art centre of the peninsula. It had drawn

Bramante from the service of Ludovico Sforza, Michelangelo from the Medici, and Raffaello from Perugia. Once again it was, in a limited sense, the capital of Italy, although Italy might only exist as "a geographical expression," and if it did not wield its empire over Europe as in ancient times, it was at least the centre of an influence, which to this day has swayed the following course of the art and architecture of the civilized world more than any other. It has been said that in Brunelleschi's hands the architecture of the Renaissance had a Tuscan or provincial character, while in the hands of Alberti it became more Roman :* and it may fairly be claimed that if Bramante went farther and rendered it national or peninsular, Peruzzi, Sanmicheli, and ultimately Palladio made it European. The works rather than the lives of individual architects concern us, and except for two names that naturally stand out, Brunelleschi and Bramante, there is little necessity for narrating the personal histories of those of the earlier periods. The names now mentioned, however, Antonio Sangallo, Raffaello, Peruzzi, Michelangelo, are so important and recur so frequently that one cannot so easily pass them over without at least a brief word of introduction.

Antonio Sangallo the younger (1485—1546) does not appear to have been, like so many of his contemporaries, something more than an architect, nor did he enter that profession or art through the painter's or sculptor's workshop. He seems to have become an architect much in the same way as men do nowadays, by assisting others, notably his uncle Giuliano da San Gallo, of Florence, and Antonio the brother of Giuliano, whose beautiful church at Montepulciano (page 91), is one of the most complete examples of the adaptation of the style to church uses. Along with Peruzzi, Antonio the younger was assistant and draughtsman to Bramante, when the last named was architect at St. Peter's. Many years before his death Bramante suffered from an affection of the limbs which prevented him from drawing and otherwise incapacitated him, and there can be little doubt that the assistance of these two architects went farther than is usual. In fact it would not be unreasonable to attribute what is sometimes called Bramante's *ultima maniera*, his second change of style, to his

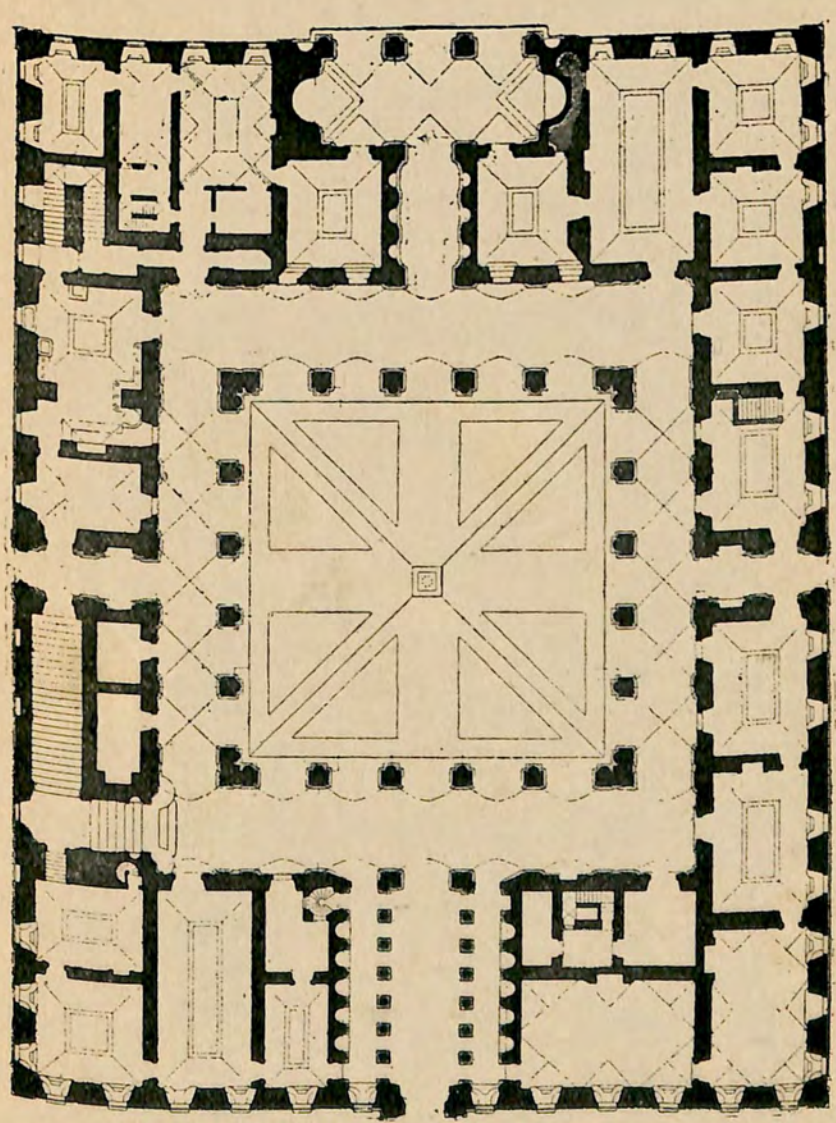
* Baron H. von Geymüller.

assistants and not to himself. The Palazzo Farnese was largely built by Antonio, as also the smaller houses Sacchetti (his own dwelling) and Palma, in Rome, all of which are admired for their solidity and sobriety.

Baldassare Peruzzi (1481—1536) has been described as from his birth the child of misfortune, but his lack of worldly success need not blind our eyes to his very remarkable gifts and attainments. His life is so interesting and such work as he accomplished so valuable, that it will become necessary to deal with him in more detail, meantime, to give some idea of his position we may say that, by "common consent" (to quote literally a French writer) "he was placed at the head of such men as Sangallo, Michelangelo and Raffaello, because of his genius and talents, and the degree to which he contributed to the glory of the age; but the modesty of his character and his lack of ambition, has robbed him of these honours, and his merits, appreciated alone by artists, repose almost without fame." It is to Peruzzi that the Grecian tendency of the time is due, in fact it is his work chiefly which gives character to the culminating period. Most of it was accomplished at Rome, where the Villa Farnesina (Plate 36), Palazzi Pietro Massimi (Plates 29—34), and Angelo Massimi, Lante, Costa, Ossoli, Via Giulia, and Linotta serve to attest his skill in simple domestic work. The frontispiece is a reproduction of one of the frescoes with which he adorned his native city, and represents with considerable dramatic power the legend of a Sibyl announcing to the Emperor Augustus the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Raffaello da Urbino (1483—1520), "whom" (says Serlio in simple eloquence) "I will always name Divine, for that he never had his fellow; I say no more"—was a contemporary artist, but died at thirty-seven years of age, having executed in that brief lifetime an incredible amount of solid and unrivalled work as a painter. He took a very deep interest in the archæology of Rome, and prepared for Pope Leo X. an elaborate report on the condition of the monuments in the city and its surroundings. There is, besides, no doubt that he made studies for buildings, and many important works of this kind are associated with his name. It is tolerably certain, however, that his connection with the work did not go farther than the study or sketch, and that he was not an architect in the sense that Peruzzi and Antonio were. The Palazzo Pandolfini

THE FARNESE PALACE, ROME. ANTONIO SANGALLO AND MICHEL ANGELO, *Archts.*



PLAN OF THE GROUND FLOOR, FARNESE PALACE, ROME.

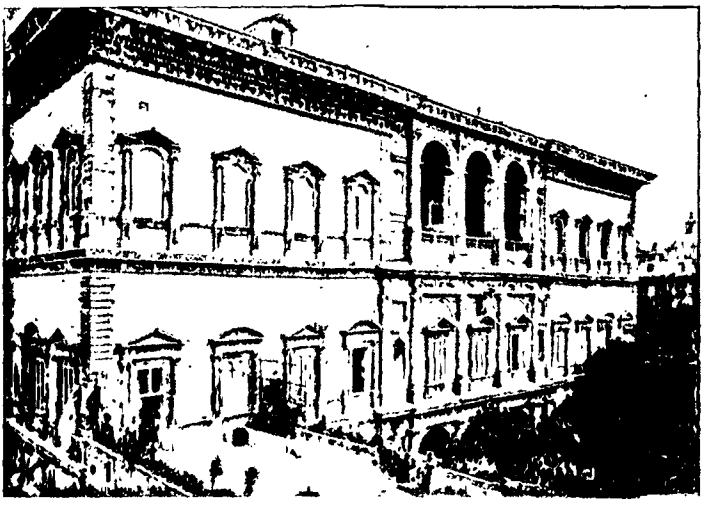
Scale : 2 Inches to 100 Feet.

of Florence, probably from a sketch design of his, but not begun till after his death, is a gem of the purest water, and one of the most typical examples of the period we are now considering. It resembles the Albergati (page 107) in its first floor windows, and the cornice with its astragal inscription frieze probably affected the treatment of that at the Roman Farnese palace. The Palazzo Stoppani, Caffarelli, or Vidoni, in Rome, is another great work attributed to this master.

Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475—1564) who has attained a fame surpassing all his famous contemporaries, was not their equal as an architect, although one of the greatest personalities who ever adorned the world of art. His largest architectural task, that of the completion of St. Peter's, was forced upon him late in life, in spite of his protest that it was not the work for which he was trained and adapted. Yet when he had once laid his hand to it, he could not be induced to leave it even to return to Florence. That Michelangelo combined in his work the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture, was of itself nothing remarkable in those days. Raffaello and Peruzzi, not to speak of Giotto and Brunelleschi, united with their architecture another art of which they were masters, but probably no man was great in all three forms of expression of the arts of form, and none certainly so great. Lanzi, in his *Storia Pittorica*, says, justly, that he "left behind him specimens that might have immortalised three different artists, had his pictures, his statues, and his architectural works, been the production of as many different authors." But through all his works we cannot fail to distinguish the same idiocrasy. His preference for a large scale, for anatomical display, for telling effect, whether in the Sistine chapel decorations, the David, or the cornice of the Farnese palace. Michelangelo is the central figure of the Italian Renaissance, and touches both its earlier and its later phases. He was a brilliant sculptor before Bramante came to Rome and while the Lombardi worked at Venice. In the maturity of his powers he glorified by his painting and sculpture the zenith of the revival in architecture, and he lived long enough to witness the degradation into which it fell. His own hand initiated the decline.

Of Sanmicheli and Giacomo Sansovino, worthy rivals of these more famous names, whose principal work lay outside Rome, the following chapter on "The Roman Influence in North Italy" will afford some information.

The large number of great palaces built during this period, both before and after the sack of Rome, and the still larger number of magnificent dwellings, which yet could scarcely be designated as palaces, afford a vivid illustration of the social prosperity of the time and the ruling motives of the clerical and aristocratic circles which dominated Rome. The Cardinals particularly appear to have been ambitious to build: among them, to begin as far back as 1495, Raffaello Riario, who in that year caused the immense structure now known as the Cancelleria Palace to be begun; Adriano da Corneto, who erected the Palazzo Giraud or Torlonia (1503—6); Alessandro Farnese,



GARDEN FRONT OF THE FARNESE PALACE, ROME.

who in 1530 commenced the palace called by his name; Ricci da Montepulciano, who in 1540 began the Villa Medici; Capo di Ferro, who about the end of the limits fixed, built the Palazzo Spada alla Regola. These were but a few of the houses of the clergy, erected, no doubt, largely out of rivalry and for the glory of their house, upon whose influence and power the chances of election as Pope, not to speak of other desirable offices and emoluments, most largely depended. And besides these, numerous patrician families like the Massimi, or wealthy traders like the Chigi, erected sumptuous and imposing residences. In all there are magnificent suites of apartments, halls and galleries, suited to purposes of entertainment, on the *piano-nobile* (the first

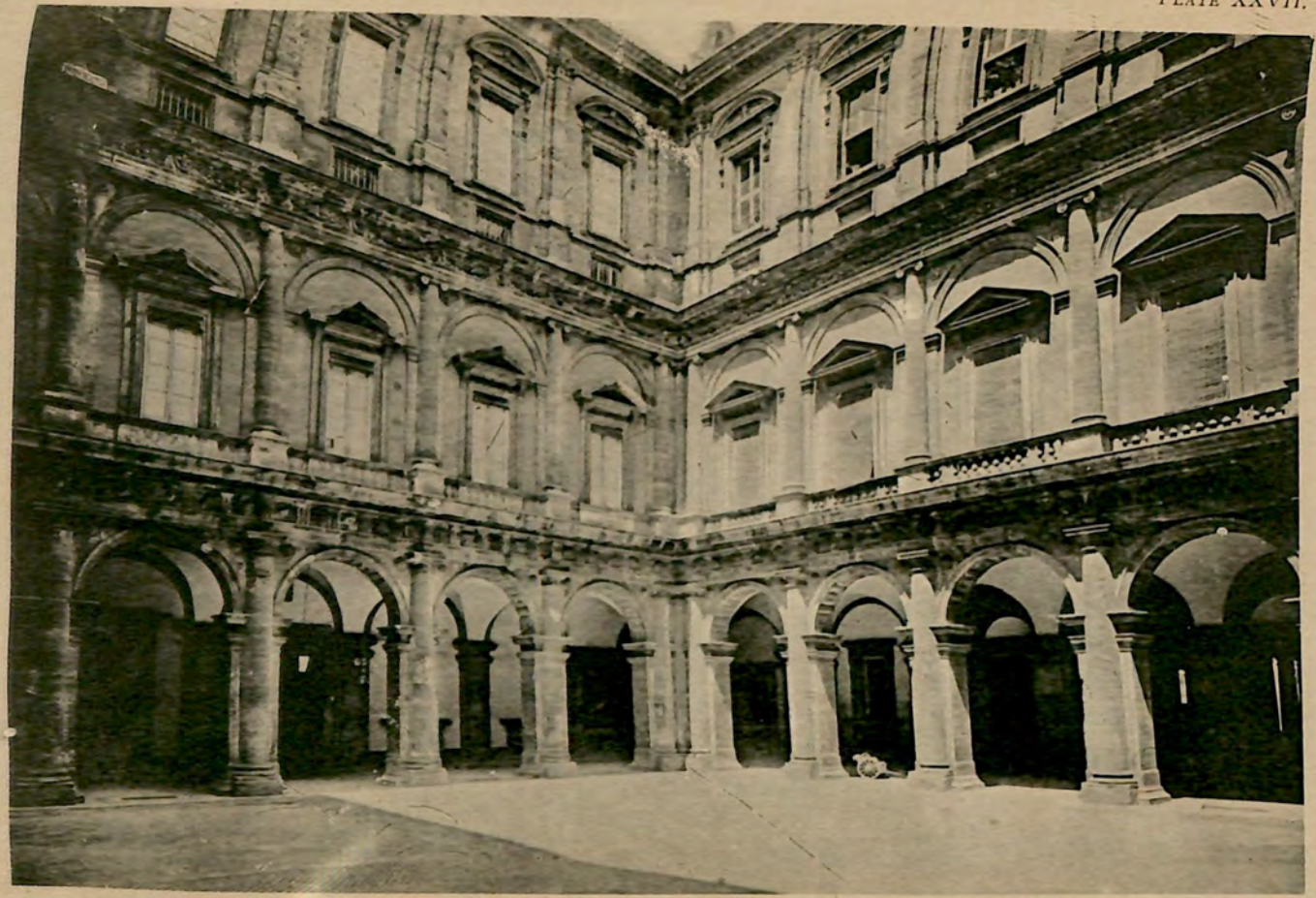
floor), which Italian custom invariably makes the principal floor, even in country dwellings (Plates 28 and 43). Out of this eventually proceeded the evolution of the open staircase, which in the earlier and many middle period examples is confined between walls in primitive and unworthy fashion. The interior of the chief apartments have vaulted, coved, or coffered ceilings, the walls being often lavishly adorned with painted decoration, and in the later dwellings with rich plaster work. In the plan of such an example as the Palazzo Massimi (Plate 29), the ancient Roman domestic arrangement is revived; while in the greater palaces the mediæval courtyard is preserved. In most cases the cortile answers to the peristyle of the ancients, rather than the atrium, and combines the advantages of both.

One of the examples which best illustrates the peculiarities of the central period of the Roman Renaissance is the great palace built for the Cardinal who became Pope Paul III. The façade presents a precipice of wall nearly 100 feet high, in proportion about two squares, its splendid monotony broken only by the insignificant central doorway and the adornment by shields of the space over the first floor window (Plate 25). Sangallo the younger was the first architect of this edifice, although Michelangelo completed it by the addition of the top storey and the magnificent cornice. The window columns standing on brackets, and the arch let up into the frieze below the pediments, are features distinctly Michelangelesque, and appear to have been first introduced by that genius. The small block view is of the garden front, the unity and majesty of which is marred to great degree by the loggia forming the central feature, which was added in 1580 by an imitator of Michelangelo, Giacomo della Porta. By reason of its date it falls outside the limits of our present subject, although not departing greatly from the principles of the Central Period. But it will be observed that in the original parts of the building the orders are only used as a window decoration, and a partial return made to the earliest Florentine practice. It may be that this can be accounted for by the fact of the origin of the architects, who, as Florentines, were more likely to have sympathy with the domestic work there than with the manner which Bramante had developed in Rome. Reference to the Palazzo Riccardi (Plate 6) will serve to remind one of the models they had in that city, and at the same time direct

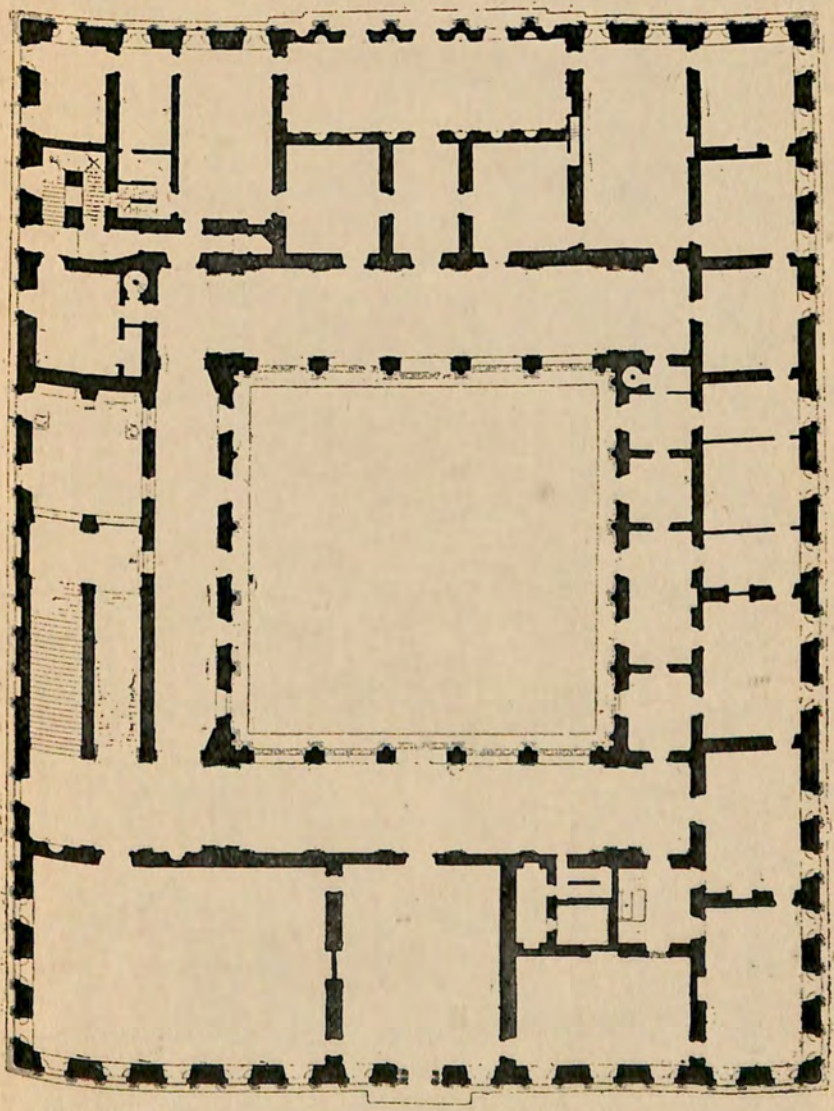
attention to the details of the windows which Michelangelo had inserted in the work of Michelozzo. For this reason he had a special interest in that building, and it was probably his recollection of it which made him disapprove of Antonio's proposal for an order on the top storey,* and which led him to design for it a cornice not less virile than that of the Riccardi. The architectural traditions of Florence would appear to have had much influence upon Michelangelo, who both in this matter and in the greater problem of the dome of St. Peter, found his stimulus in the study of the school of Brunelleschi. Going round the long flank of the building, and entering by the commonplace doorway, we pass through a particularly fine vestibule (Plate 26), probably inspired by the promenade galleries of the Theatre of Marcellus; and that it was literally built out of the material of that notable building, is a circumstance not only appropriate but characteristic of the time. The loggia of Andrea Sansovino at Santo Spirito, Florence (Plate 10), is vaulted in a similar manner, though on a smaller scale and without the lintelled aisles of this example; and in purity of design and beauty of proportion quite holds its own. Passing into the loggia, which runs into the cortile, we observe first the Roman cross vaulted ceiling, the panelled soffit of the archivolt; and stepping out into the grand cortile, find in its lower storeys a close reproduction of the rich ordinance of the under half of the Colosseum. The topmost floor was part of the addition of Michelangelo, and shows symptoms of the decline.

The most perfect examples of an architectural style are frequently not those of greatest importance on account of size and extent, and there are many reasons why this should be so. Carried into execution at some fortunate moment, before fashion has had time to change, they are besides within the compass of a single architect's capacity, and admit of the most solicitous study and the most perfect performance of every detail. Hence one of the finest examples of the culminating period in Rome is a house of modest dimensions, the Palazzo Pietro Massimi alle Colonne. This by itself is a library of the architecture of the period, a perfect mine of wealth, while, under a simple and severe aspect, it buries its treasures from eyes that do not bring

* Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*.



CORTILE OF THE FARNESE PALACE, ROME.



PLAN OF THE FIRST FLOOR, FARNESE PALACE, ROME.

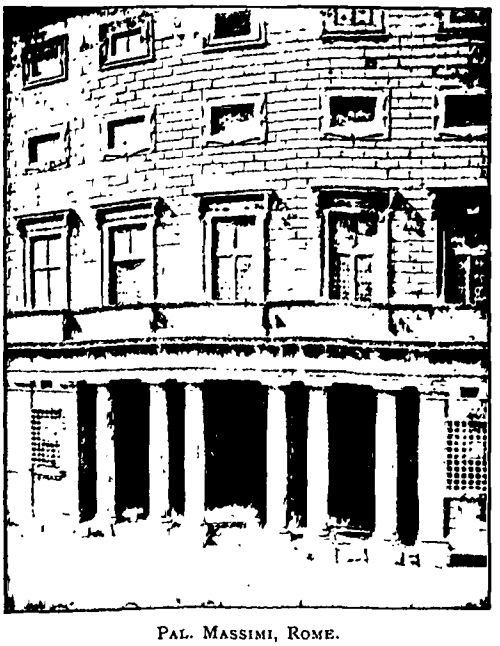
Scale : 2 Inches to 100 Feet.

with them the power of seeing. The whole scheme, which embodies two separate houses for brothers on a fixed and very irregular site, is a beautiful example of acute judgment under unwonted conditions, and ingenious adaptation to determinate ends. An earlier habitation of the family of Massimi del Portico had occupied the site, but like many another was destroyed in the sack of Rome (1527). The motto of the family is "Cunctando restituit," but soon after this the services of Baldassare Peruzzi were called into requisition, and a plan prepared which in the most economical way upheld, as far as possible, the older building. This plan, still preserved,* while decidedly ingenious, failed in symmetry and elegance, and the design which superseded it, likewise from the hand of Peruzzi, was in all respects an improvement (Plate 29). In its general arrangement the completed structure bears a closer resemblance to the characteristic plan of the ancient dwelling, as we now know it at Pompeii, than any of the palazzi anterior to Peruzzi, and it is highly probable that it was an instruction of this assertively Roman patrician that the scheme should approximate to the Roman model. For the Massimi claimed descent from the illustrious Fabius Maximus, who led the armies of Rome against Hannibal. It would also appear to have been a condition of the programme that the full surname of the family (*del Portico*, or, as it was afterwards called, *delle Colonne*) should be expressed in the building by some such feature. Owing to the very limited nature of the site, this had to be obtained by recessing the ground floor in the manner which the plans and exterior view indicate. As Letarouilly remarks, the coupling of the columns, which, in the fashion generally practised, he appears to regard as a vicious innovation, is in this case amply justified; placed as they are where strength is required, their close setting also serves to give the necessary architectonic effect of solidity and cohesion to the whole elevation. The curve of the façade, following the lines of the frontage of the narrow street, had a remarkably fine effect before it was widened within recent years, and made part of the Via Nazionale. The beauty gained by this curvature is only now to be appreciated by the internal perspective of the loggia itself, viewing it for its full length. The extreme projection of the shallow abaci of the Doric

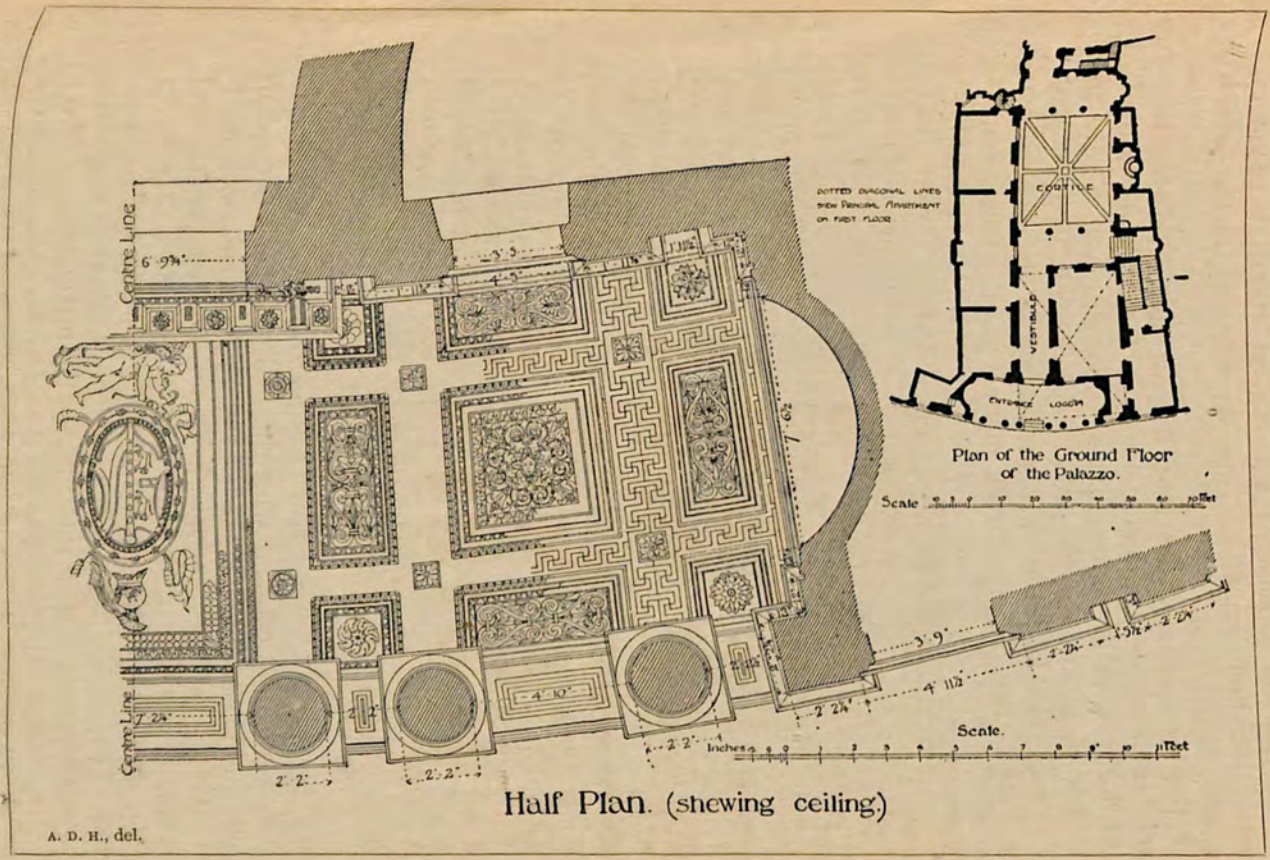
* Letarouilly's *Édifices de Rome Moderne* (Text).

columns has been considered a fault, but affords a piquancy which is far from unpleasing, and an effect of vigour which seems to be required.

It has been already said that the architects of this time were beginning to distinguish between Greek and Roman. They had not sufficient accuracy of information in regard to Greek work to attempt its literal reproduction, and for that we may be thankful. But there are many proofs, especially in the work of Peruzzi, of a Greek manner being assumed apart from the prevalent Roman treatment. The Palazzo Massimi is a case in point. It is true that the arch and the tunnel vault appear more than once in the design, but they are kept subordinate, and the columns and doorway of the portico, the elevations of the cortile, and the interior of the apartments suggest Greek models rather than Roman. Judged by these standards, this portico or entrance loggia presents some curious anachronisms. There are the Roman Doric columns with the Attic base and a Grecian profile and projection of echinus; the fine Grecian Doric doorway (Plate 31) cheek by jowl with an inclined pilaster and windows of the time of the Republic; a Grecian ceiling to the whole, while the niches have delicately coffered stucco semi-domes of the second century. In all this it seems as if Peruzzi were attempting to infuse into the Roman methods some of the Grecian refinement which was his partly by instinct, and as the fruit of his study of Hellenic art, while the freedom of his use of motifs or features developed in widely separated periods is a lesson to the painful archæology of much of the architecture of

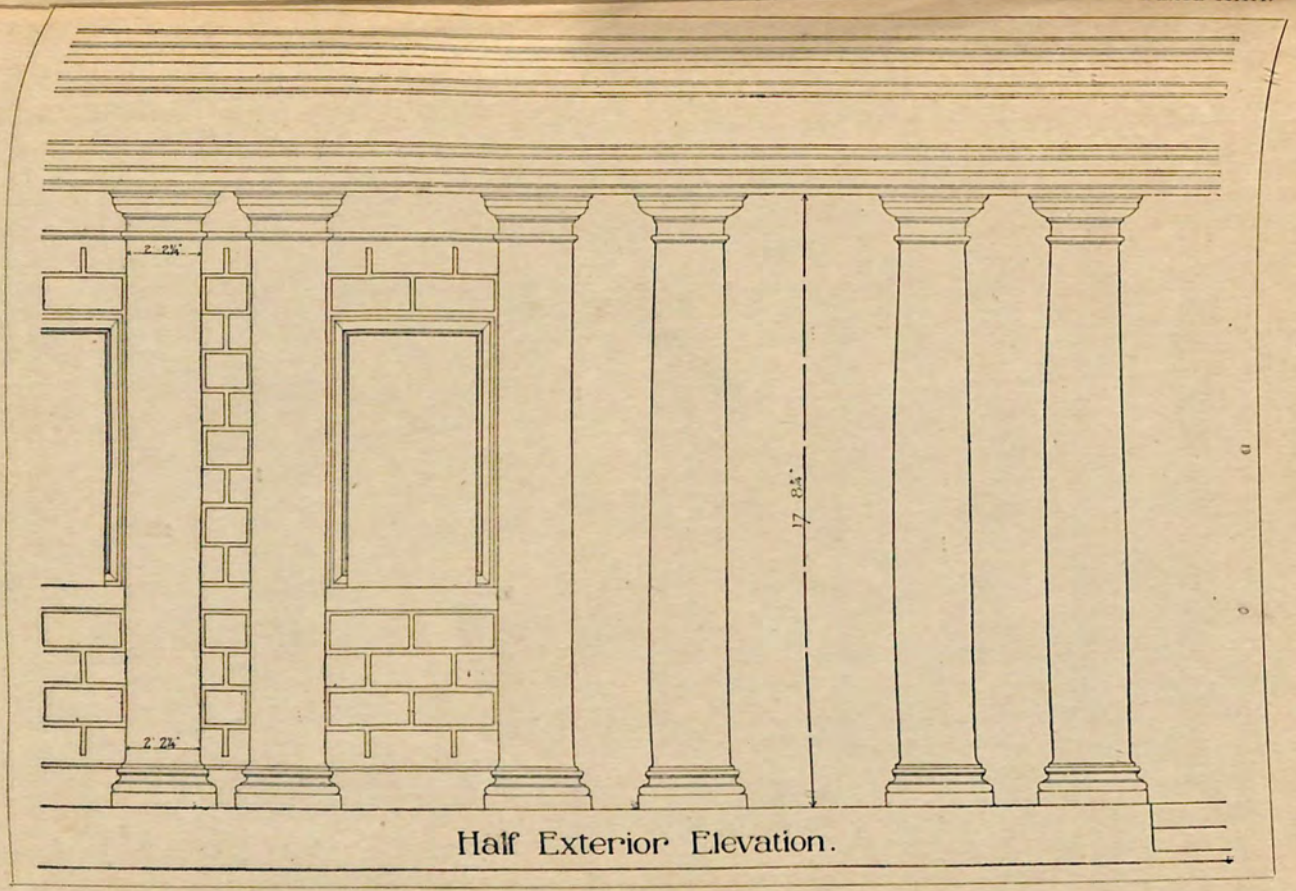


PAL. MASSIMI, ROME.
Peruzzi, Archt.



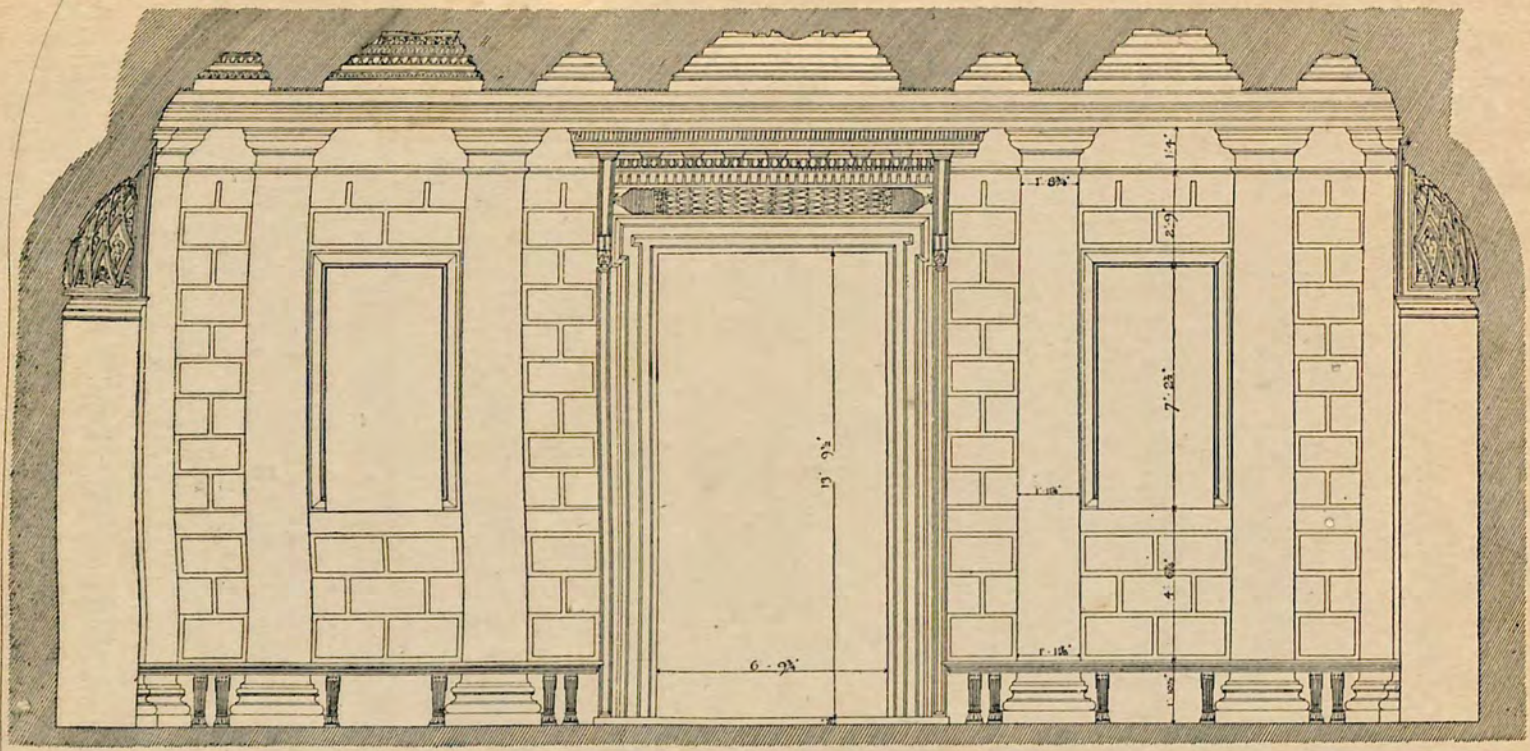
ENTRANCE LOGGIA OF THE PALAZZO MASSIMI ALLE COLONNE, ROME.

BALDASSARE PERUZZI, *Archt.*



ENTRANCE LOGGIA OF THE PALAZZO MASSIMI ALLE COLONNE, ROME.

BALDASSARE PERUZZI, *Archt.*



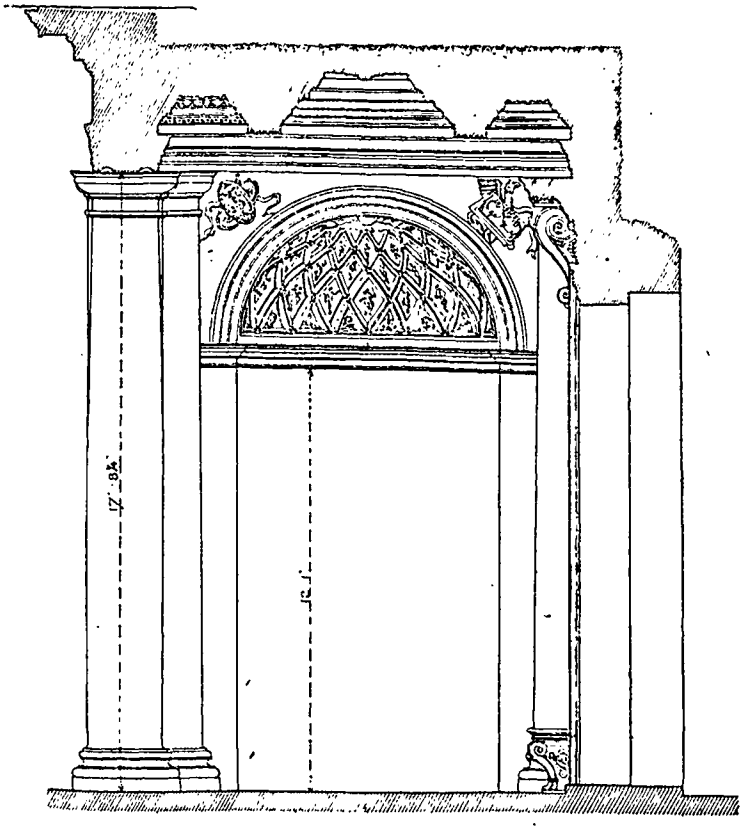
Interior Elevation.

A. D. H. del.

ENTRANCE LOGGIA OF THE PALAZZO MASSIMI ALLE COLONNE, ROME.

BALDASSARE PERUZZI, *Archt.*

the present day. Some of this juxtaposition of the Greek and Roman features is most happy, as in the case of the diminished pilaster—a most objectionable form in most instances, but here used with good results in sympathy with the inclined lines of the door architrave. The cortile, which Plate 32 illustrates, more consistently preserves the prevailing Grecian character.

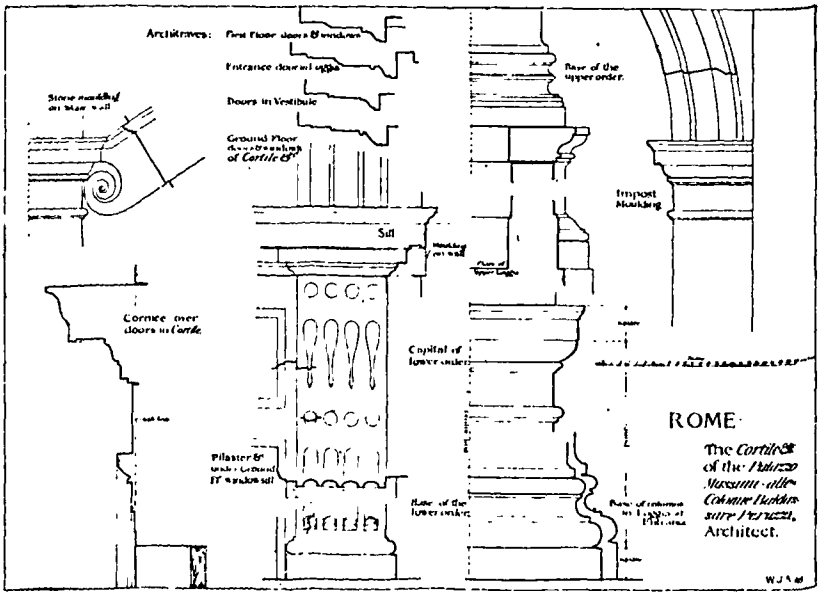


Cross Section.

ENTRANCE LOGGIA OF THE PAL. MASSIMI ALLE COLONNE, ROME.
Peruzzi, Archt.

The openings above the first cornice, apparently formed for the purpose of lighting up the loggia at each end of the cortile, are introduced in a most infelicitous manner, whether by Peruzzi, as Letarouilly believes, or by subsequent hands. The entablature is in this way bereft of its proper frieze, while guttæ are left to lament the absence of their hitherto inseparable triglyph. The walls of the house enclose the cortile only

on three sides for its full height, and on the east side the buildings are merely of one storey and an attic. In this wall the remarkably severe doorway of travertine stone, with its sculpture of *alto-relievo* mythological subjects (Plate 33) should be noticed. The rich mouldings which frame the sculpture are of stucco, and, like the ceilings and semidomes of the niches in the portico, also of this perishable material, are in fair preservation. The collection of the firm and delicate moulding profiles serve to show how faithfully the predominant Greek tendency is stamped even upon details of small consequence,

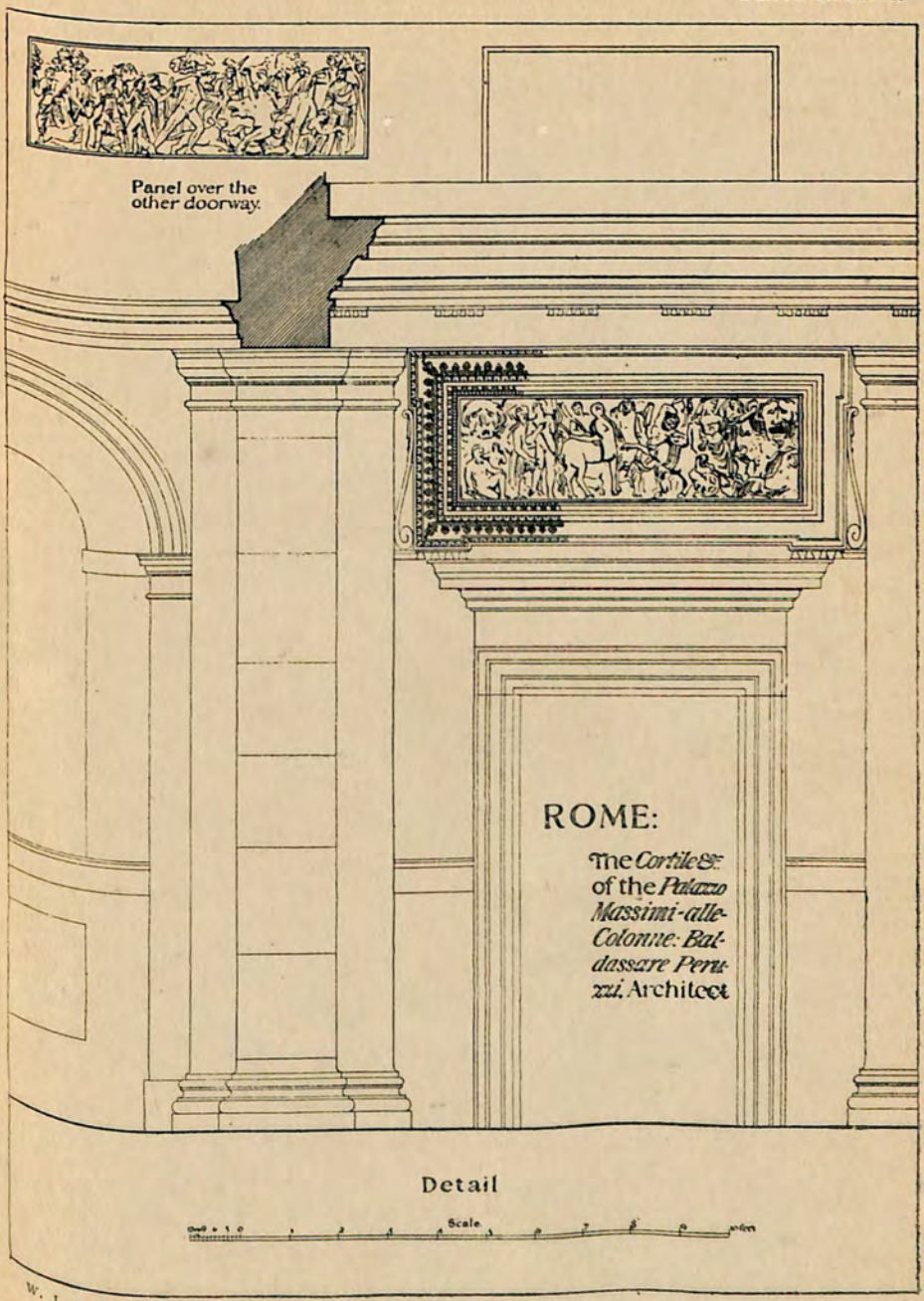


while in themselves they indicate no little originality on the part of the master.

The loggia on the first floor, approached by the unpretending staircase, is in its union of painting and architecture one of the most perfect features of a singularly perfect building. The Ionic columns are purely Greek, of the most refined proportions and drawing. White marble is used not only in the columns and square pillars, but in the jambs and cornice of the doorway, and in the archway at the head of the staircase. The ceiling is boldly coffered on hexagonal lines, and beautifully enriched and decorated. It will be observed that in this cortile, Peruzzi, as in every other case but one, resists the temptation to place

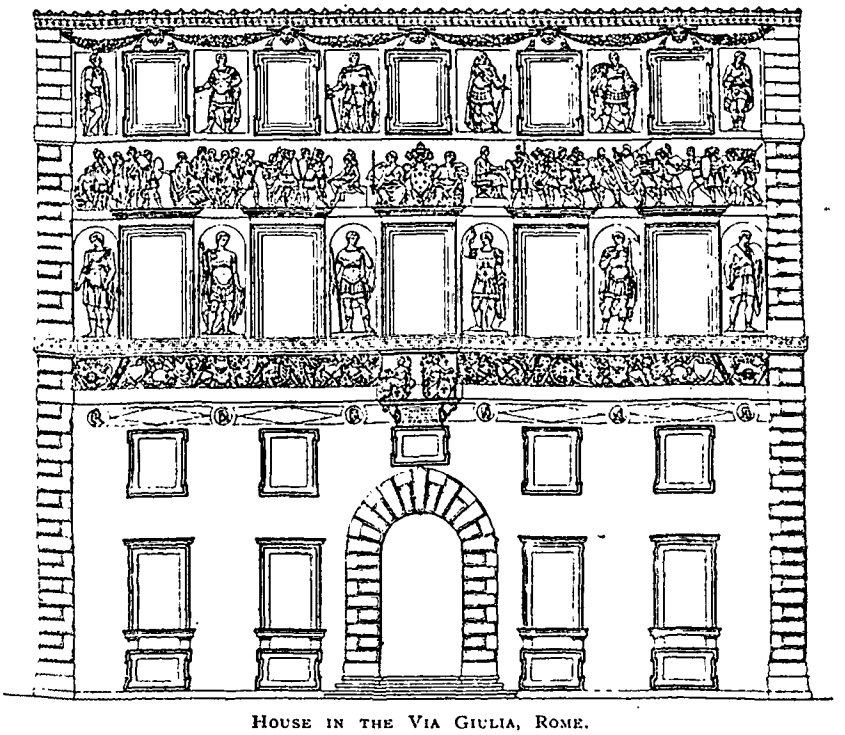
CORTILE OF PALAZZO MASSIMI ALLE COLONNE, ROME.

BALDASSARE PERUZZI, *Archt.*


Panel over the other doorway.
ROME:
The Cortile & of the Palazzo Massimi-alle-Colonne: Baldassare Peruzzi. Architect
Detail
Scale

W. J. A. del.

his main cornice at the level of the column entablature, and superimpose an attic, terminated by a lesser moulding. This treatment, a common one, is exemplified in the Palazzo Stoppani (designed by Raffaello, and probably carried out by Giulio Romano), and there as elsewhere is unfortunate, being a species of anti-climax. Such an arrangement is most effective in interior work, and is so used in the Hall of the Massimi, the one exception to Peruzzi's rule (Plate 34). Here it appears

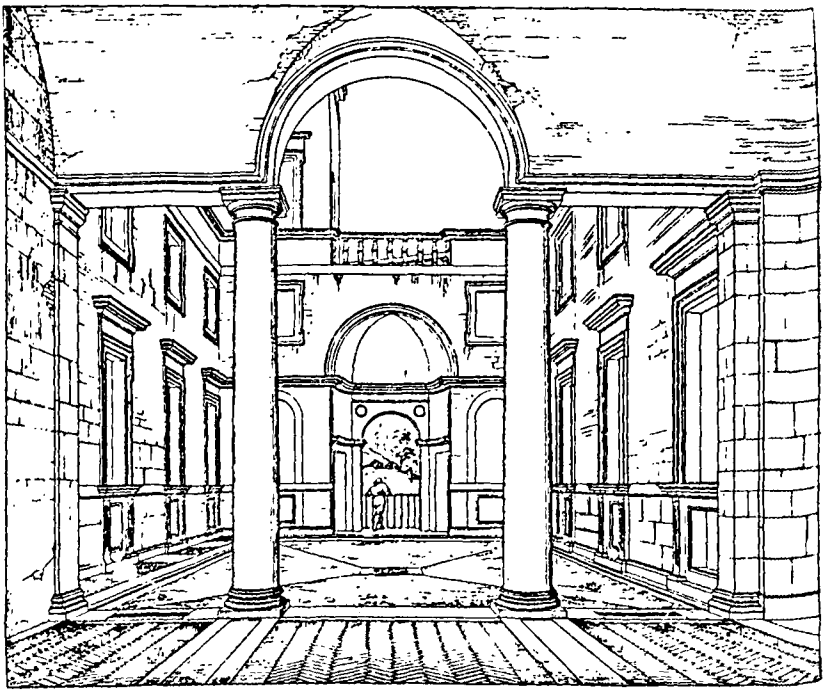


HOUSE IN THE VIA GIULIA, ROME.

(Letarouilly.) Scale 1/16th of an inch to one foot. *Peruzzi*, Archt.

very successful, although Letarouilly, whose opinion is entitled to the greatest weight, is pleased to stigmatize the architecture of this room as oppressive, while highly commending the decoration. The large panels in the frieze, which is the happiest part of the decoration, represent scenes in the life of the founder of the family in republican Roman times, while the intermediate panels and the sculptures are mythological. The baldachino is an indication of the high rank of the noble owner. The marble chimney piece, surmounted by a

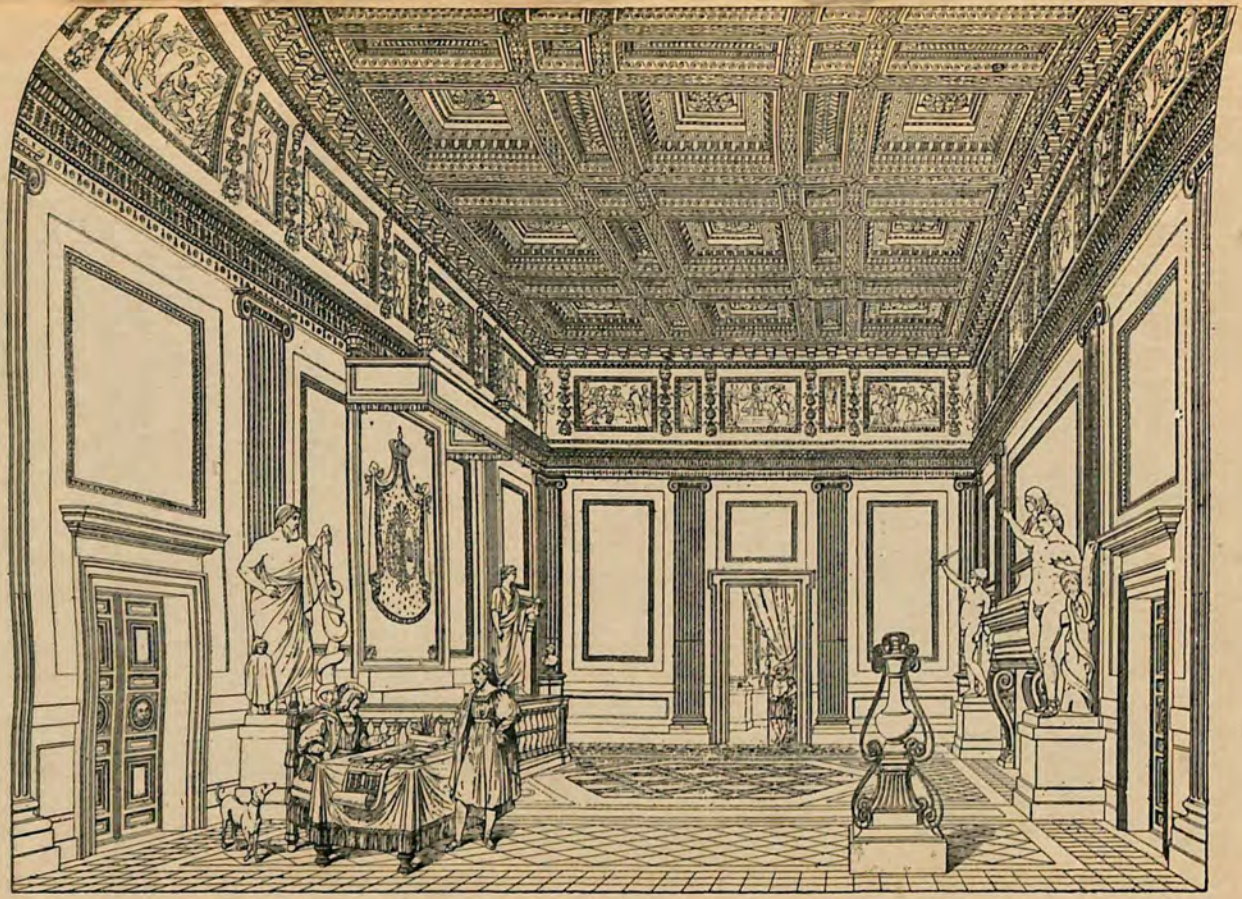
bust of Raffaello, has consoles closely resembling the supports of the seats in the loggia. It will be observed that in this building, as in all contemporary work, the corbel or bracket shape (page 26) is suppressed, and its place supplied, in every feature of this nature, by the weaker and softer console form of the trusses flanking the first floor windows, and the door of the entrance loggia, as well as that on the *piano nobile*.



HOUSE IN THE VIA GIULIA, ROME. VIEW OF CORTILE FROM VESTIBULE.
(Letarouilly.) *Peruzzi*, Archt.

The house in the Via Giulia, Rome, is as distinctively Roman as the Massimi is Greek. The exterior depends chiefly upon its figure decorations, and mouldings have been wisely suppressed. In the accidental union of the central arch at the further end of the cortile with the square window openings there is a foreshadowing of the "motif a la Palladio," which from this time constantly recurs, especially in the works of the later Northern artists.

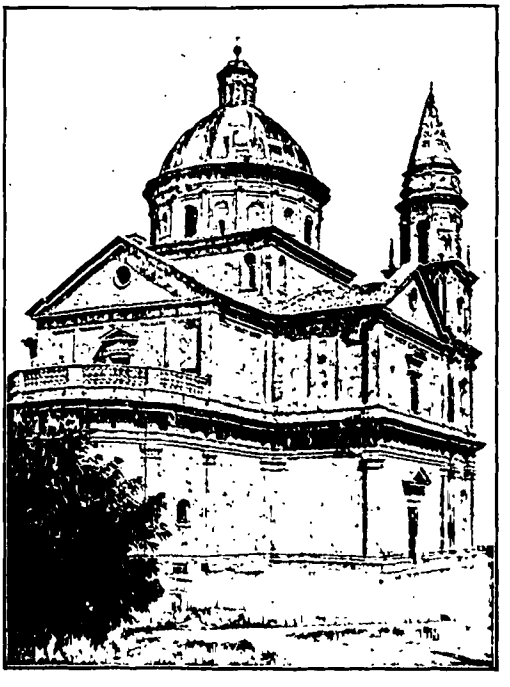
For an indication, on a similar moderate scale, of what was being achieved in ecclesiastic work at this time, a more



PRINCIPAL APARTMENT IN THE PAL. MASSIMI ALLE COLONNE, ROME.

Letarouilly. BALDASSARE PERUZZI, *Archt.*

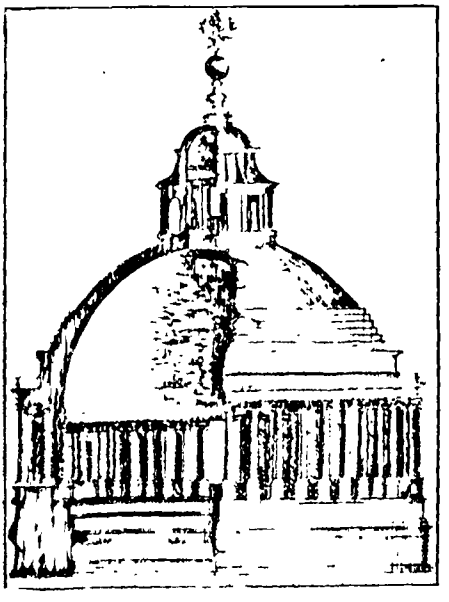
characteristic example could not be chosen than the Church of the Madonna di Santo Biagio (begun 1518) at Montepulciano, a town lying between Siena and Perugia. This is the work of Antonio da San Gallo, the elder, and marks him out no less than his younger namesake and friend as an able exponent of the new type of work. Like the Palazzo Massimi it presents a design which has been carried to completion, and is as perfect as the talents of its architect could make it, under certain stipulated conditions. The plan is cruciform, and the dome, well raised above the roof, has almost attained its full development, while the campanili at the corners of the façade are among the finest of their kind, an enriched and improved version of Baccio d' Agnolo's campanile of Santo Spirito at Florence, and in some ways approaching the Venetian type.



CHURCH AT MONTEPULCIANO.
Antonio da San Gallo (the elder), Archt.

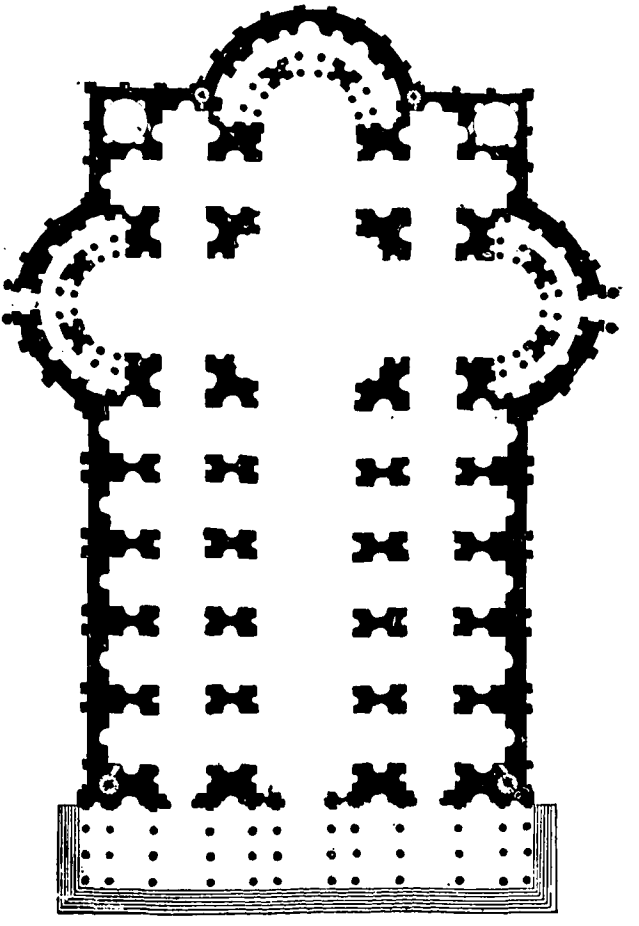
It would be tedious and unprofitable to recount the early history of the various projects for the less fortunate Church of St. Peter, the largest work of the Renaissance. Suffice it to say that after other schemes had been commenced and abandoned, Bramante, some time before 1506, when the foundation-stone was laid, was appointed architect, and that Giuliano da San Gallo, Raffaello the painter, and Fra Giocondo of Verona, were associated with him in the work. All four dying by 1520, before the work had advanced very far, Peruzzi was soon after appointed to the control of the works, although Antonio Sangallo the younger had been previously (in 1518) made assistant to Raffaello. Each architect on his

appointment seems to have set himself to re-study the whole matter and produce his own plan, hence it is easy to account for the delays which occurred at this time, and with the successive removals of three Popes, the difficulty of procuring funds, and the sack of Rome, it is difficult to understand how the work proceeded at all. Bramante's original scheme was a cross, of four arms of equal length, the central feature of which was a low dome not far removed in form from that of the Pantheon, but raised on a complete peristyle without and the semblance of one within. The illustration is a copy of Serlio's drawing of this dome, and when architects and critics regret, as they so often do, that Bramante's design was departed from, they should not altogether ignore the dome with which he would have crowned the pile. It is possible, however, that this design, pulled out, so to speak, and with solid masses at intervals in the colonnade, gave Sir Christopher Wren a suggestion for his most beautiful dome at St. Paul's, in which case Bramante's dome design had its uses. The fact is that Bramante, even had he lived longer, could not have constructed it on his own ground plan, the piers of which were wholly inadequate in strength. After his death his whole scheme seems to have been departed from, and Raffaello, possibly influenced by clerical conservatism, made an exceedingly beautiful and simple plan, in a more conventional form, the which, says Serlio, "in my opinion, is one of the fairest draughts that are to be found, out of the which the ingenious workman may help himself in many things." This plan, without any doubt, would have produced a finer building than that which now exists. It is often spoken of as Bramante's



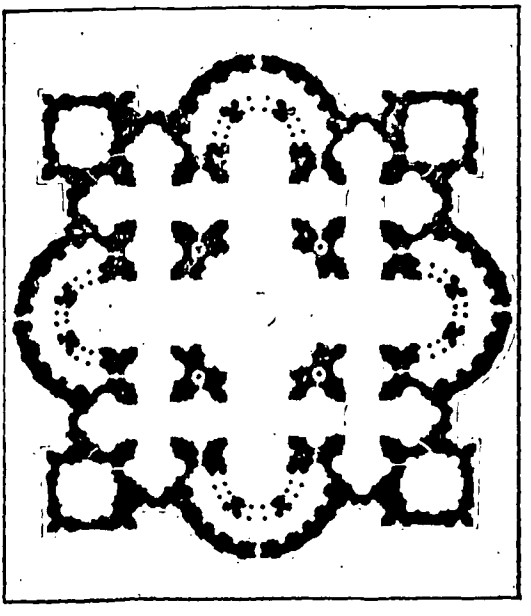
HALF SECTION AND HALF ELEVATION OF DESIGN FOR DOME OF ST. PETER'S.
(Serlio.) *Bramante*, Archt.

plan, but this is an error, although it may have been based upon the previous studies of Bramante and his assistants. At Raffaello's death, Peruzzi, appointed to the chief control, found that the piers of Bramante needed greatly strengthening, having almost collapsed under their own weight; anxious, too, to restrict the scope of the work, and desiring to let the dome be seen from all points of view, he reverted to the Greek cross plan. The plan he adopted (page 94) was really a skilful combination of the good points of Bramante's and Raffaello's plans: and it seems a plausible theory that Raffaello's eastern termination and Peruzzi's plan were based upon a study (perhaps by Bramante) of the ancient church or hall at Milan, the site of which is occupied by the Church of San Lorenzo. Perruzzi's annotator explains that the temple was to have four doors, the high altar to occupy the middle. At the corners were to be four sacristies, upon which clock towers might be reared. Had the author been suffered to carry out his model, there can be little doubt that it would have been not only the most magnificent temple the world had



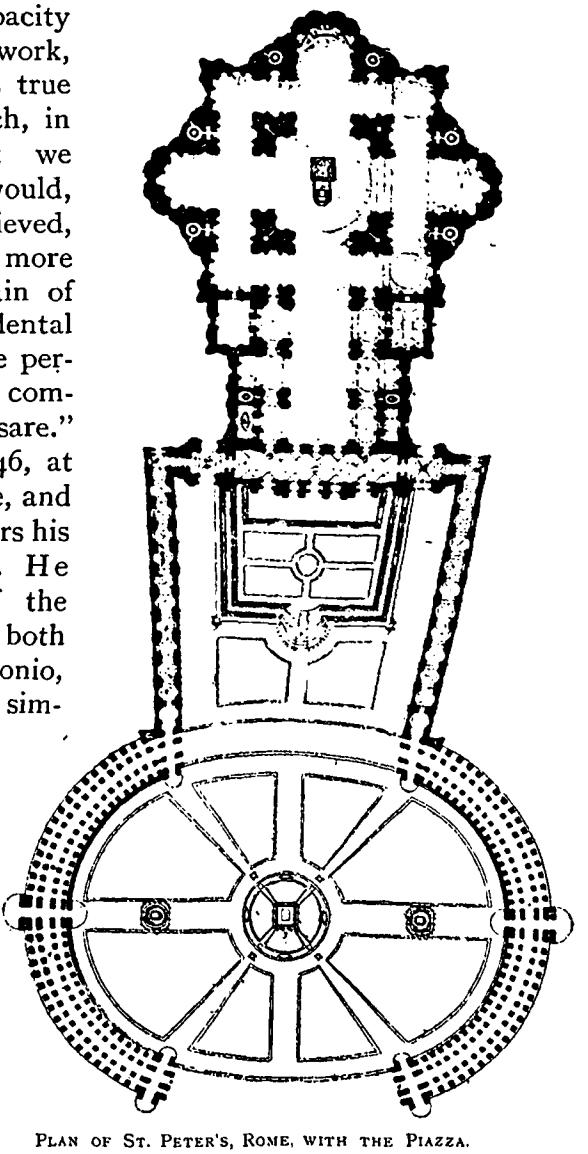
PLAN FOR ST. PETER'S, ROME.
(Serlio). *Raffaello da Urbino*, Archt.
Scale one inch to 200 feet.

seen, but one of the purest in taste. Peruzzi, however, was cut off in 1536, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by one who hoped to succeed him in his office at St. Peter's, and Antonio Sangallo, who then took charge of affairs, restudied the whole matter. His design is illustrated, both in plan and elevation, in Fergusson's *History of Modern Architecture*. The exterior has much merit, but the plan little or none, compared with those which had already been made. Though retaining the Greek cross principle of Peruzzi, he proposed to add a great and well-nigh useless hall or vestibule, so giving to the exterior the form of the Latin cross. It is probable, however, that he had little opportunity of making headway with the scheme, his time being taken up with the strengthening of the great piers of the dome, and possibly by the inner wall of the double apses, which ultimately became the outer wall of Michelangelo's restricted plan. The merits of Sangallo's design were freely criticised and generally condemned by his contemporaries, who rarely appear to have done Antonio justice. Michelangelo was especially critical, and is said to have banned the design, because "broken up with its innumerable projections, pinnacles, and divisions of members, it was more like a work of the Teutons than of the good antique manner, or of the cheerful and beautiful modern style." Thus did the greatest critic of the age set magnitude against multiplicity, and encourage by precept as well as example the worship of mere bigness. Many architectural critics of to-day, having the benefit of such mistakes



PLAN FOR ST. PETER'S, ROME.
Peruzzi, Archt.

as St. Peter's before them, would much prefer Antonio's elevation, which involved three orders in height, to that of one order which supplanted it. As for Antonio's capacity to carry out such a work, Vasari says: "It is true that he effected much, in accomplishing what we possess; but he would, nevertheless, as is believed, have seen his way more clearly through certain of the difficulties incidental to that work, had he performed his labours in company with Baldassare." Antonio died in 1546, at sixty-one years of age, and Michelangelo, ten years his senior, succeeded. He suppressed many of the features of the designs both of Peruzzi and Antonio, and gave the plan a simplicity which, on so great a scale, is now seen to be a blunder. He was, however, strong enough to overcome the sacerdotal prejudice and restore the plan of the equal arms. The cliff-like walls of the apses and the towering pilasters, as we know them, are his work, as is also the dome, for which he left a complete model and drawings. These parts of the church, however, properly belong to the succeeding or Late Period, which



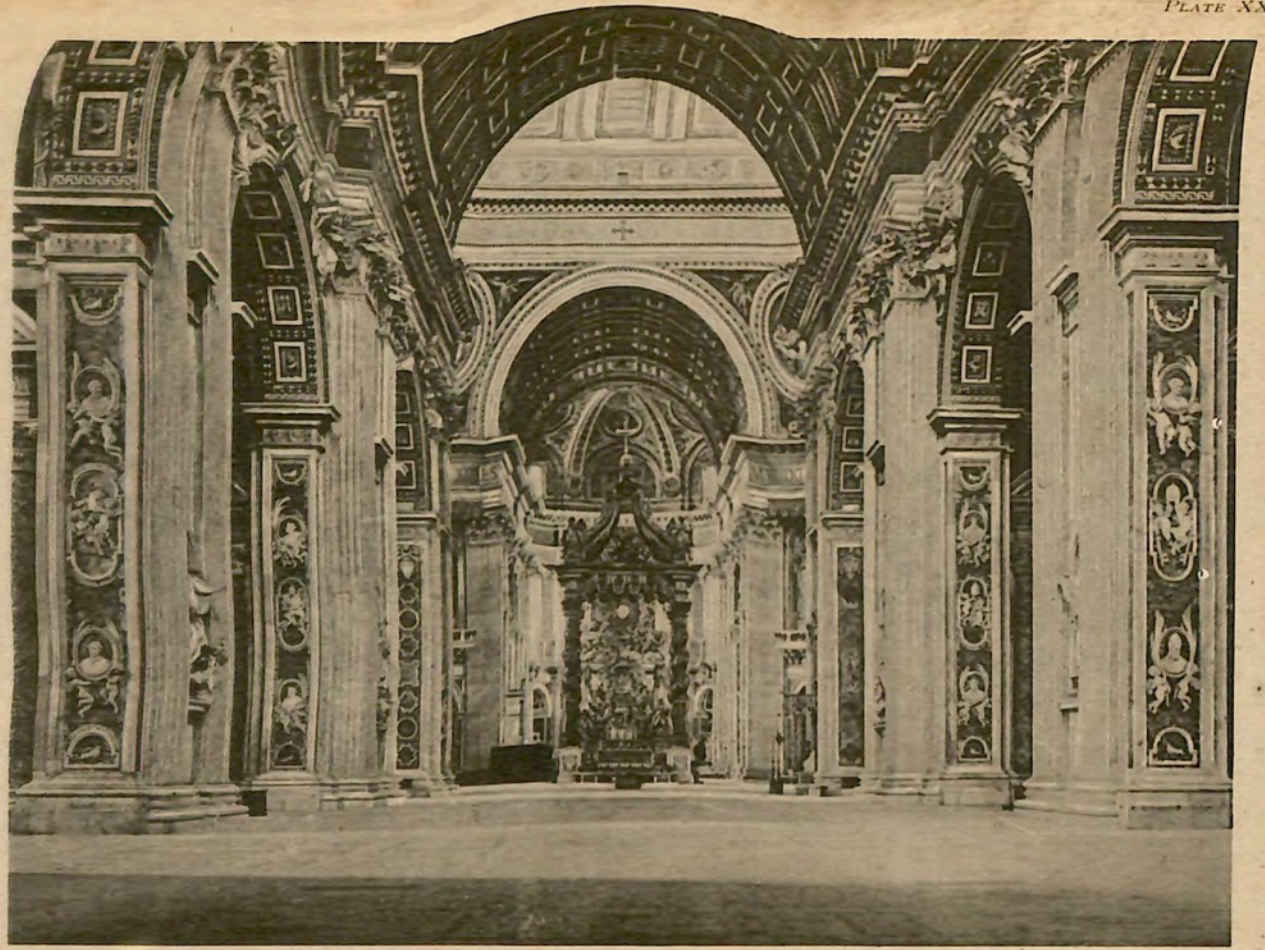
PLAN OF ST. PETER'S, ROME, WITH THE PIAZZA.
Scale one inch to 300 feet.

Michelangelo really initiated, and the extension of the nave, which ended the battle between the two forms of cross, belongs to the seventeenth century. The façade (page 97) exhibits Carlo Maderna's work, with a base caricature of the portico which Michelangelo had designed to stand free of the main building as an appendage to the Greek cross scheme, but which the seventeenth century architect made to stick close to the wall.

It is the interior (Plate 35) which chiefly concerns us in considering the work of this period. The internal ordinance is probably due to Antonio Sangallo, and although the long arm of the cross is part of the addition of Maderna, the original idea is fairly well preserved, but with late and debased details and ornaments. The work round the piers of the dome is doubtless that of Antonio. The form of the four supporting piers is peculiar, and necessitates a slight distortion of the pendentives carrying the circular drum. Had these been curved on plan, concentric with the dome, or had they been rectangular, there would be no irregularity; but, indeed, none is apparent as the work is executed, the huge circular panels of the Evangelists, in mosaic, filling up the spaces most admirably.

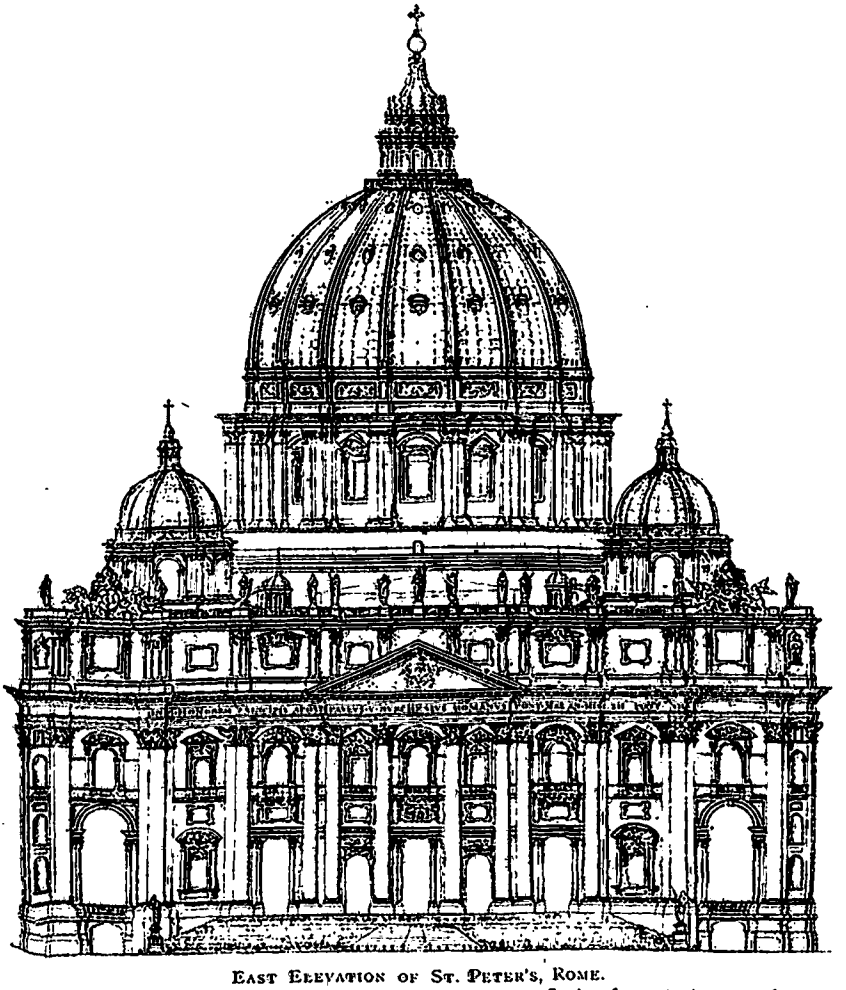
The internal effect of St. Peter's is a subject about which much has been said. All are agreed that the impression it makes on a first visit is not so overwhelming as might be expected from its prodigious dimensions. Byron, in notable verse, has expressed the idea and given a poetic cause for the absence of this effect, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, in his delightful picture of modern Rome,* treats of the subject at some length. The fact seems to be that, as he suggests, when first you enter, a ghostly image which almost unconsciously had been cherished, is shattered by the shock of the reality presented. You had built up in the mind's eye a vague outline, "dim, and gray, and huge, stretching into an interminable perspective, and overarched by a dome like the cloudy firmament," such an edifice in which one might keenly realise the insignificance of his own personality. Some of this effect is produced by the dome of St. Paul's in London, and it might naturally be looked for in a building greater by far. But when you for the first time push aside the heavy mattress at the door, or later stand below the dome, there is little or none of this feeling, and the first

* *Transformation, or The Marble Faun.*



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S, ROME.

impression is of cheerfulness and colour, should you chance to see it with the sunlight streaming through the clear windows on the mosaics and coloured marbles, fresh and bright through three centuries. Then, with the very limited view which can



EAST ELEVATION OF ST. PETER'S, ROME.
Scale of one inch to 100 feet.

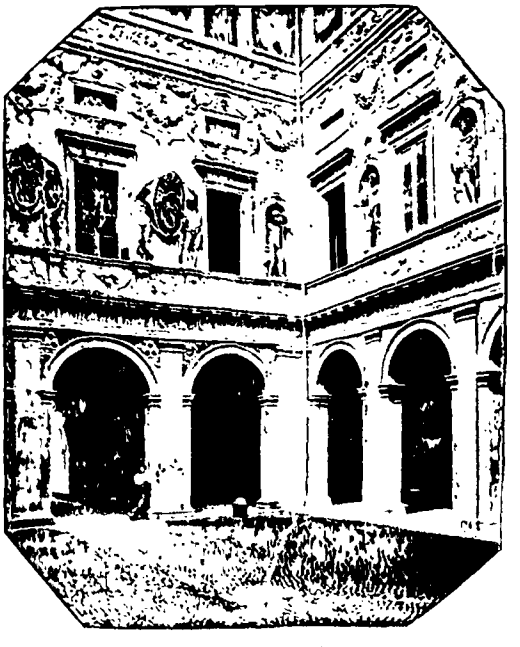
be obtained from most points, it is felt to be a poor substitute for the preconceived edifice with its boundless vistas, and the next impression is decidedly that it is not so vast a building as you had expected. The violation of what may be called the human scale, which is perpetrated no less in the enormous size of the order than in the colossal cupids is another reason for this. Never before were classical orders used of this size, save

in the monumental columns to Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and it is not wonderful that the mind and eye, accustomed to their use on a much smaller scale, should for some time fail to grasp their actual dimensions. But every moment of time spent within the building and every fresh visit increases the sense of its immensity, until, to quote Hawthorne again, "after looking many times, with long intervals between, you discover that the Cathedral has gradually extended itself over the whole compass of your idea; it covers all the site of your visionary temple, and has room for its cloudy pinnacles beneath the dome."

There is the same difficulty in realising the immense scale of the exterior, but there never comes the same ultimate satisfaction. The order of the outer wall is still higher, ninety-four feet and nine feet broad, the capitals being ten feet deep. The height of the wall surrounding the structure is 165 feet, while the figures on the balustrade of the east front are nineteen feet high. While on this matter, it may be said that the total height at the dome is 435 feet, twice the height of the central towers of York or Durham Cathedrals; and although less remarkable for length than for width and height, it is longer than Rochester and Glasgow Cathedrals placed end to end. The ultimate victory of the Latin cross has deprived all spectators within a quarter of a mile to the east of their view of the dome. To see it close at hand we must go round the flank of the building to the Vatican Gardens, from whence the effect is splendid, as it is also from any distant point of view. It is probably surpassed in grace of exterior aspect by St. Paul's, in London, with its unbroken entablature, higher colonnade and attic; but without St. Peter there had been no St. Paul. The brackets designed by Michel angelo to unite the coupled columns and entablature with the attic were never carried out, and do not seem to be required.

Taking the culminating period in Rome as a whole, we observe that it is characterised by the attention given to proportion and design in the mass, the details being made strictly subordinate to the *tout ensemble* kept pre-eminently in view. A feeling for what may be called rhythm in spacing, and a sense of satisfaction in simple arrangements and grouping is evident. The power thus gained in composition enabled the architects of this period to dispense with the elements which had lingered in the Renaissance from Gothic or Romanesque influence. The traceried window, the carved arabesque, at least in exterior

work, the splayed reveals of doorways and windows, were made to disappear, and the freedom and variety of capitals and other purely ornamental carving greatly curtailed. Even such elements as the round roof and pediment, directly inspired by the Byzantine work, were given up, although actually the old Roman form of roof and ceiling, as in Constantine's Basilica and the Baths of Caracalla. Closely connected with this tendency to classic imitation may be considered the revival of Greek methods and the preference for rectangular compositions, continuity of lines, absence of breaks or projections, and monotonous repetition of forms. Great use is made of the columnar form, and where it is not preferred as a substitute for the panelled pilaster of the early period, the pilaster is made to assume the severe form of the Greek *anta*, fluted pilasters being relegated to interior decoration. The re-introduction and use of the engaged column, backed by a square pier carrying arches (Plate 27), of which the portico of the Roman San Marco is perhaps the earliest instance, is very typical of this period, replacing the detached columns of the earlier practice (Plate 23), or the lesser half columns applied to the main pilaster, as on Plate 5. The mouldings, though less highly enriched as a general rule, are of the most refined types and purest profiles, delicate, and yet vigorous (p. 88, Plate 40). Instead of being cut out of a bevelled surface like most of the early Renaissance cornices and mouldings, they approach the bolder sections of the Romans, but in refinement of line and shading they are more often Greek in feeling than Roman. Projection is much increased, and all the effect of



CORTILE OF PAL. SPADA ALLA REGOLA, ROME.

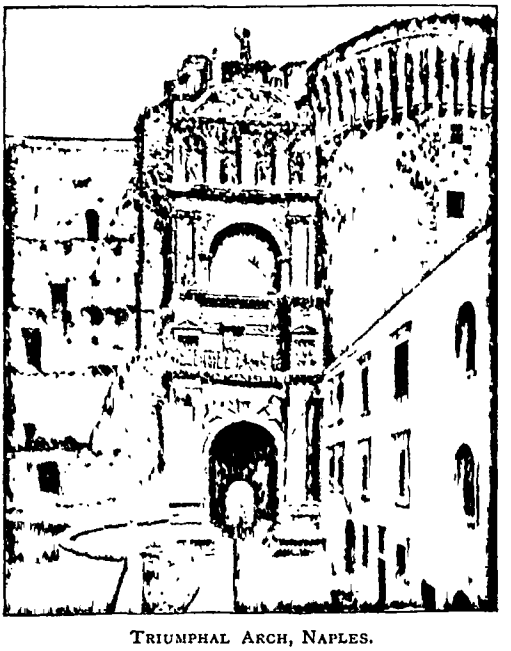
timidity produced by such low relief as Alberti's and Bramante's early work disappears.

A passion for the human figure is a decided characteristic of the Roman architects, and led them to impress its semblance upon almost every detail of the architecture and every trifling accessory they designed. Their strength in this matter was pushed to the verge of weakness, and is not better or worse

SIBYL FROM THE VAULT OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL, ROME.
Michelangelo, Painter.

illustrated by the doorway by Peruzzi (Plate 41), where busts flank the door, cupids bear up the balustrade, and heads, children, and animal figures line the top of the balustrade. Even on the Greek door (Plate 41), miniature figures, with foliated tails, are to be seen on the *antefixæ*. This tendency they certainly carried further than the ancients, Greek or Roman, in not a few cases, as, for example, in the Palazzo Spada, an example probably due to Raffaello's influence. In the

interior decoration nothing else seems to have been dreamt of but figure painting. The most extreme example is of course the Sistine Chapel, the work of various artists, including Botticelli and Perugino, but remarkable chiefly for the ceiling by Michelangelo, and the vast composition on the altar wall representing the Last Judgment, painted thirty years later by the same master hand. The illustration is of one of the Sibyls from the base of the vaulting, representing Erithraea, a name which the Italians have again revived in bestowing it, appropriately enough, upon their strip of Red Sea territory. The architectural accessories to the figure are, of course, in this case entirely produced by colour on the concave surface of the vault, with amazing technical skill. The Sistine Chapel is justified by its success and by the unrivalled excellence of the work, but the golden mean of a union of truthful architecture and appropriate decoration is attained with happier results in the interior of the Villa Farnesina and the Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne. One thing is certain, that Renaissance decoration has a high ideal, and demands for its successful accomplishment a full knowledge and perfect command of the principles of Nature's design, whether in the vegetable or the animal world, as well as of the arts of Greece and Rome.



TRIUMPHAL ARCH, NAPLES.

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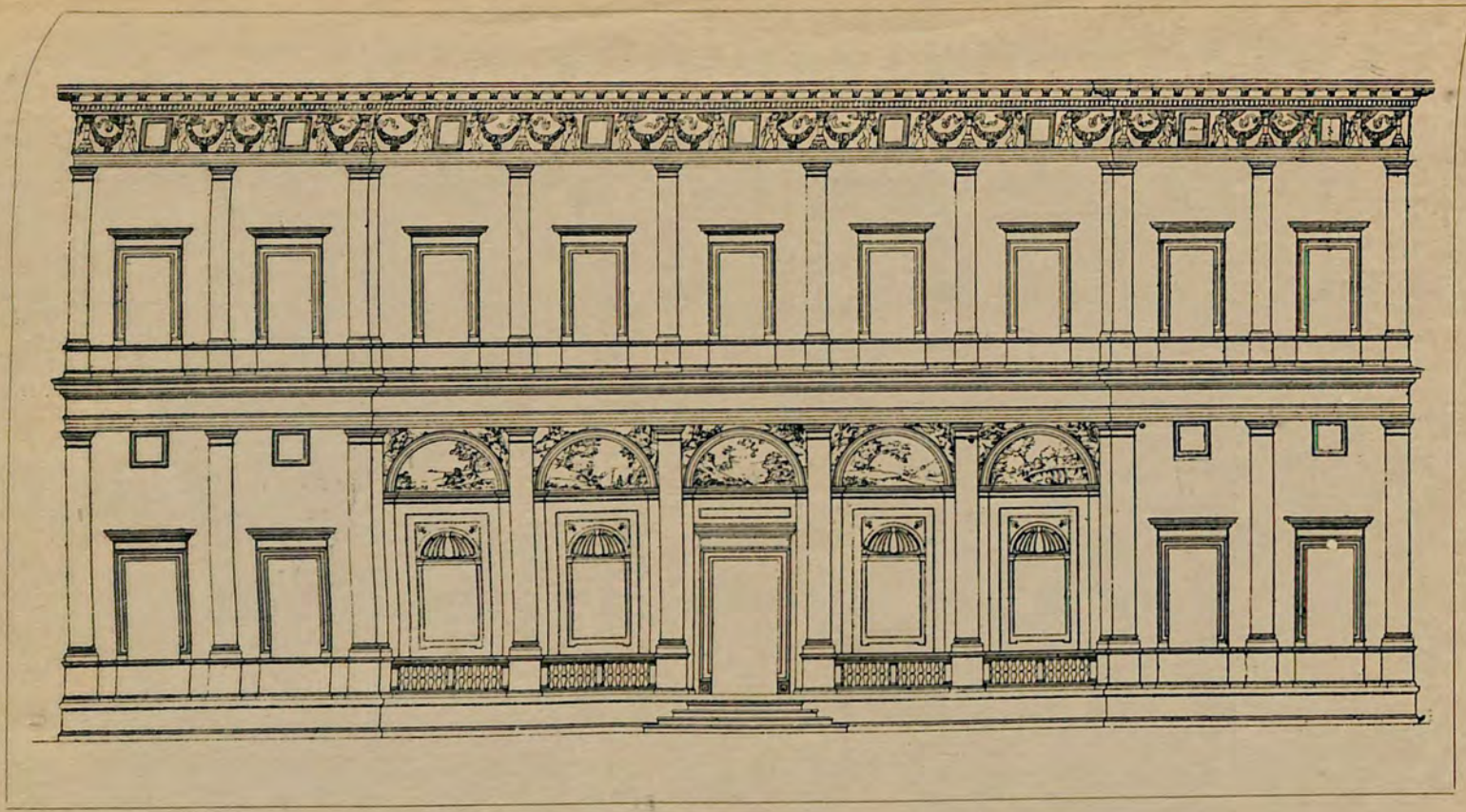
CHAPTER V.

THE ROMAN INFLUENCE IN THE NORTH OF ITALY (1529—1550).

COMPARISON AND DISTINCTION OF WORK OF SANMICHELI, PERUZZI, AND SANSOVINO—PERUZZI AND SANMICHELI THE LEADERS—SANSOVINO THE FOLLOWER—PERUZZI—BIRTH AND TRAINING—HIS FIRST PATRON—THE VILLA CHIGI OR FARNESINA—OTHER COMMISSIONS—APPOINTMENT AS ARCHITECT OF ST. PETER'S—ORGAN AND HOUSES IN SIENA—PAL. ALBERGATI AT BOLOGNA—DOORWAYS OF PAL. PROSPERI, FERRARA—DEATH OF PERUZZI—CHARACTER OF HIS WORK—SANMICHELI—FORTIFICATION BUILDING—PAL. POMPEI—BEVILACQUA—PORTE DEL PALIO AND NUOVA—PAL. GRIMANI AT VENICE—SANSOVINO—HIS EARLY ROMAN CAREER—GLIMPSE OF HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER—PAL. CORNARO DELLA CA' GRANDE—ZECCA, ITS RELATION TO SANMICHELI'S WORK—LOGGETTA—PAL. LIBRERIA VECCHIA, ITS DERIVATION FROM THE VILLA FARNESINA—HIGH ATTAINMENT OF THE WORK OF THIS PERIOD.



FRONT ELEVATION OF THE VILLA CHIGI (FARNESINA), ROME.

Letarouilly.

BALDASSARE PERUZZI, *Archt.*

Scale : $\frac{2}{16}$*ths of an Inch to* 10 *Feet.*

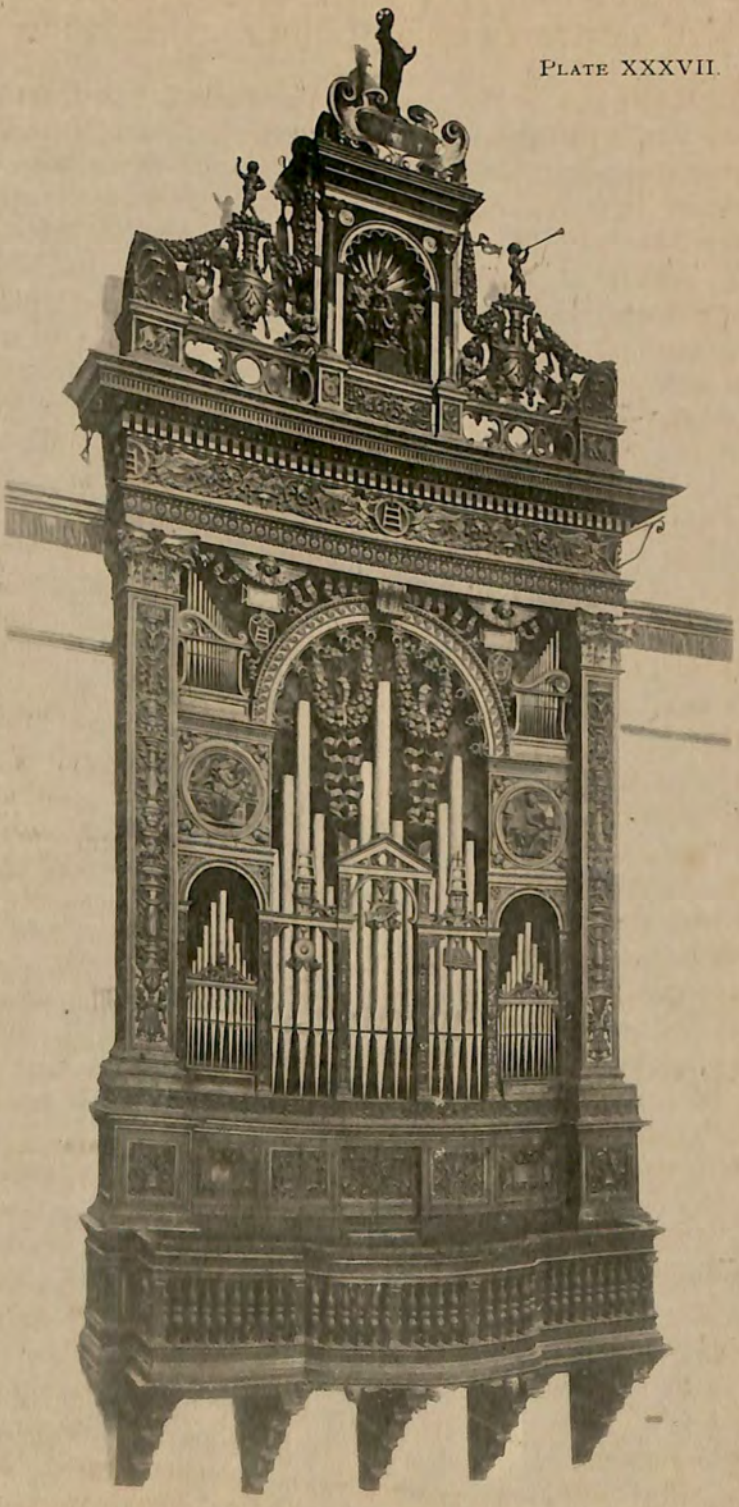
CHAPTER V.

THE ROMAN INFLUENCE IN THE NORTH OF ITALY.

In the last chapter an attempt was made to ascertain the general drift of the architecture of the time, and to determine the points in which it differed from the work of earlier periods, rather than to differentiate the works of individual architects. Having in this way attained some idea of the nature and distinctive qualities of the culminating period as a whole, it is fitting that the nicer question of distinguishing the work of its leading exponents should be entered upon. Architects who may be selected for illustration and comparison in this connection are Sanmicheli, Peruzzi, and Jacopo Sansovino. Each of the trio was at one time connected with Rome, but the later and principal practice of Sanmicheli and Sansovino was wholly in the dominions of the Venetian Republic. Of the three Peruzzi and Sanmicheli were the originating geniuses, and Sansovino the faithful follower. So much was he their imitator in architecture that he had on occasions his Peruzzi manner of expression, and at other times a manner which is unmistakably founded on Sanmicheli's example. This will be clear from the illustrations; meantime it may be noticed as answer to those who affirm that great architects have always been painters, amateurs, or at least have not been trained in the regular way, that Raffaello, Michelangelo and Sansovino, unrivalled painters and sculptors, though designing great architectural works, never displayed either the originality or power of Brunelleschi or Bramante, who at an early period forsook the craft of the sculptor and the painter for architecture, or Sangallo and Sanmicheli, who were architects from their boyhood, and nothing more. Bramante and Sanmicheli in particular are distinguished by a grip of the elements of composition and a command over possible combinations in architecture, to which their brethren of the brush and chisel never attained. Peruzzi was in this way an exception in that he was an excellent decorative painter as well as an architect of the highest capacity. At the same time,

were it necessary to make three figures representative of the Central Period of the Renaissance architecture, no more brilliant triad could be found than the painter, the builder, and the sculptor, whose work makes up the subject matter of this chapter. Naturally we begin with the eldest of the three artists chosen, as well as probably the most influential.

Baldassare Peruzzi was born at Siena in the year 1481. The register of his birth having been discovered in Siennese documents the debated question of his birthplace has been set at rest. For "as seven cities contended for Homer, each desiring to claim him for her citizen, so have three most notable cities of Tuscany, Florence, Volterra, and Siena, namely, all maintained, each for herself, that Baldassare was of the number of her sons." So Vasari puts it, and he goes on to show how each might be said to have had a share in him. Like some of the earlier architects of the Renaissance, Baldassare's early self-education was obtained by frequenting the shops of the goldsmiths, and in a very short time he had made extraordinary progress in drawing, painting, and modelling. The inevitable and fateful drawing is made which captivates an astonished beholder, in this case Piero, a painter of Volterra, who takes the young artist with him to Rome. Here, like all the architects of the time who came to anything, Baldassare explored for himself the Roman antiquities. But one of his most fortunate discoveries was the compatriot who proved his first patron, Agostino Chigi, Chisi, or Ghisi, of Siena, the rich banker, the same who, while the Pope visited him in his villa, in order to create a striking impression of his wealth, threw the gold dinner plate after dining into the Tiber in sight of his holiness, and had it fished up secretly early the next morning. This story is scarcely characteristic of Chigi, who made a most noble use of his vast fortune, in his patronage, particularly, of Raffaello as a painter; and his taste and discrimination were shown no less in his selection of Peruzzi as his architect at the early age of twenty-five. The Villa Chigi, now known as the Farnesina (Plate 36) in the Transtibertine quarter of Rome, is thus Peruzzi's first work of importance. It is contemporary with, or but a year or two later than Bramante's Cancellaria and Giraud palaces, and shows a great advance thereupon. Instead of the timid relief of a foot or so, the end wings are boldly projected, the arched loggia gives still greater



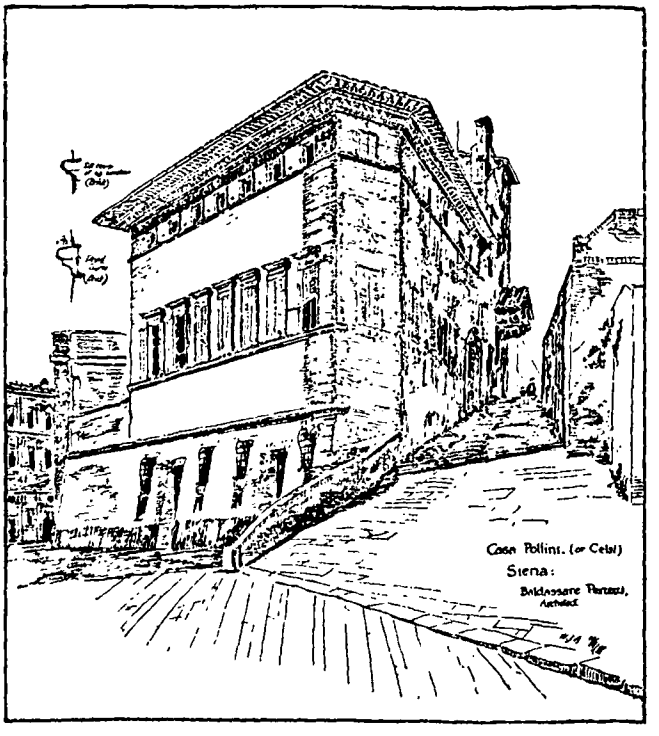
ORGAN IN CHIESA DEL OSPEDALE, SIENA.

BALDASSARE PERUZZI, *Archt.*

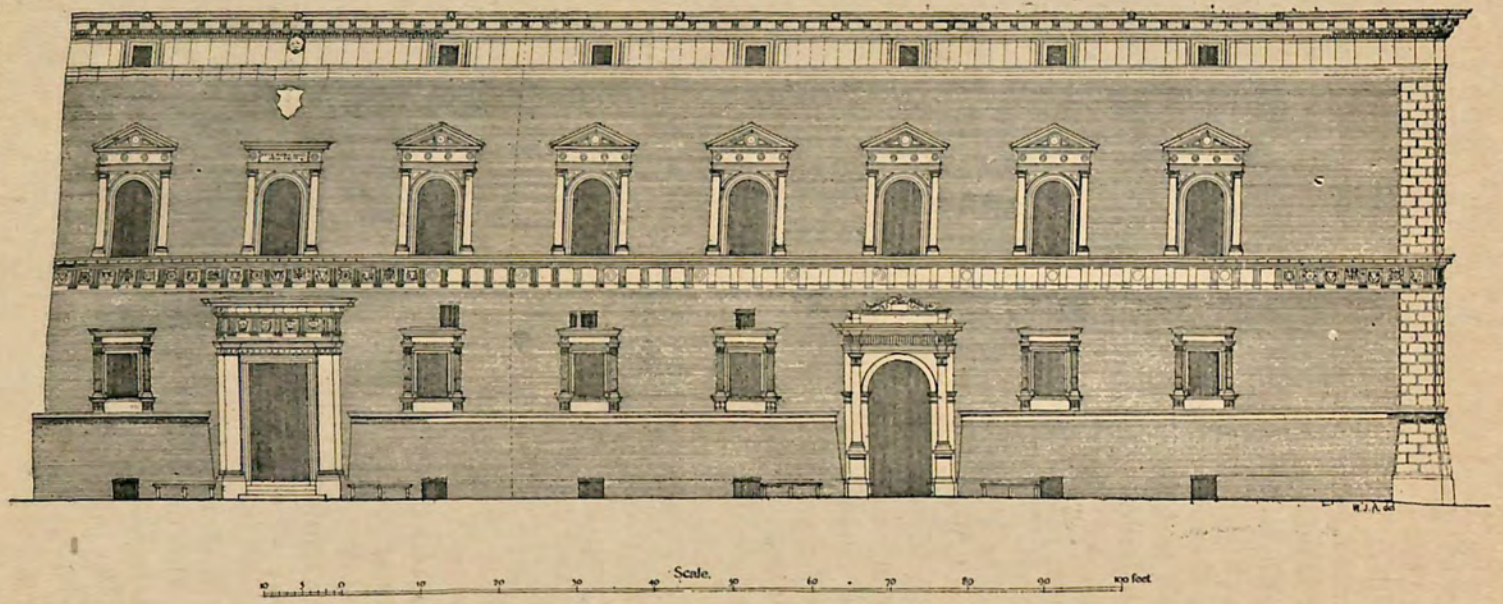
relief, and the rich frieze crowning the whole is a vast improvement upon the trifling entablatures of the palaces of Bramante. The frieze is worthy of special notice, as it will be seen how Sansovino, thirty years later, profited by it in his library at Venice (Plate 46). The motif is in each case exactly the same: cupids holding festoons in each hand between the oblong openings in the frieze. This treatment of the frieze remained characteristic of Peruzzi throughout his practice, not so much in its decoration, as in the system of placing the window between the architrave and the cornice. Another feature which probably makes its first appearance or rather reappearance here, is the reclining figure in the spandril of the arches. Such figures were largely adopted by Sanmicheli and Sansovino, but anticipated by Peruzzi, as this building attests. The villa is perhaps most remarkable for its wonderful frescoes, executed both by Raffaello and its architect, who next to Raffaello and Michelangelo, was esteemed the greatest decorative painter of his age, and was much employed in that capacity (*see* Frontispiece). Indeed Serlio, who ought to have known, affirms that it was his pleasure in the proportions and masses of the columns, when seeking to place them in a perspective background, that led him into architecture, in which he says, "he so excelled that his like was not almost to be found."

An important commission (which unfortunately came to nothing) was now given him to prepare designs for a façade to the immense Church of San Petronio in Bologna. He proceeded to that city and designed two plans with elevations, section, and perspective, still preserved in the *fabbrica* of that Church. One of the designs, it is interesting to know, was "in the style of the Teutonic nations" (as his chronicler calls it), meaning thereby the Italian Gothic, the prevailing style of the rest of the building. Here also he designed the doorway at San Michele in Bosco (Plate 41), which is so purely Grecian in its style; but he was at this time "almost compelled" to return to Siena, there to design the fortifications of that city, and to superintend their erection. Part of this is without doubt what is known as the Wall of Peruzzi, which is treated in a distinctively architectural manner, with cornice and very heavy neck or astragal moulding. Again he repaired to Rome, where perhaps the greatest distinction he had yet attained to, empty honour though it proved, came to him on his appointment as architect of St. Peter's (page 93).

About this time he had an opportunity of displaying his ability in another direction, for when one of the first plays written in Italian was performed before Pope Leo he prepared all the scenic decorations, and arranged the lights and other properties in a clever manner, specially deserving of praise in that theatrical performances had been long out of vogue. He is considered to have been the inventor of the now universal movable scenes, which were first used on this occasion. At the



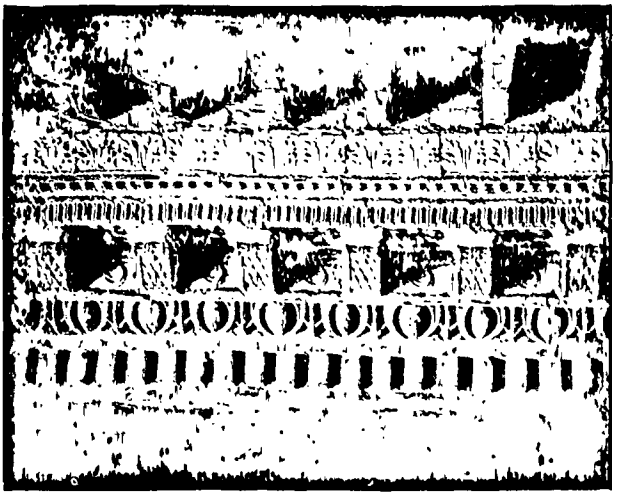
time of the sack of Rome and subsequently, Peruzzi passed through several remarkable adventures, fully described by Vasari, ultimately returning to Siena, where he was employed in the service of that Republic, as well as by other public bodies. At this time he appears to have furnished the design for the organ of the Church of the Ospedale (Plate 37), not Carmine, as Vasari puts it in error. The design is one which deserves most minute and careful study. It is more imaginative and capricious than anything else he produced, and suggestions of previous and future architectural work appear in many of its parts. The pediment,



FRONT ELEVATION OF THE PALAZZO ALBERGATI, BOLOGNA.

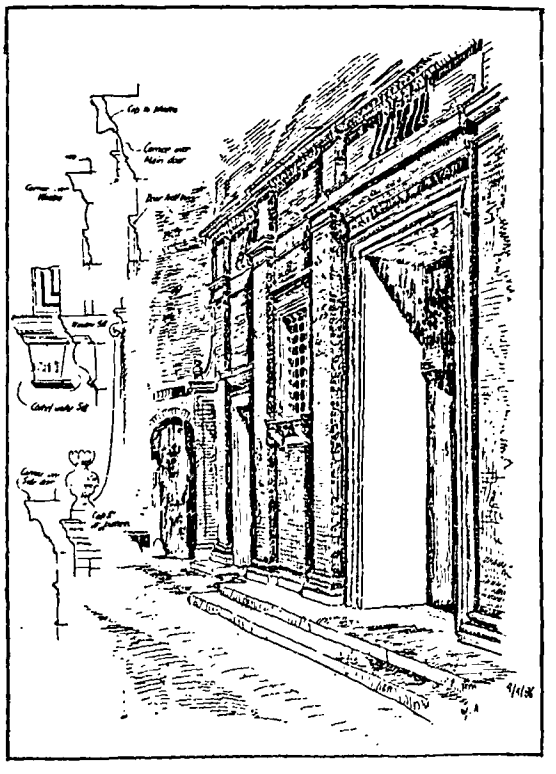
BALDASSARE PERUZZI, *Archt.*

with pillars, arch, and pateras in the spandrils, is practically the same motif as the first floor windows of the Albergati palazzo at Bologna, one of his latest works. The *antefixæ* suggest those of the door at San Michele in Bosco, also in that city. The key block is the same in every detail as the trusses under the ground floor windows of the Palazzo Albergati, and the mouldings and enrichments in many parts resemble those which recur in such buildings as the Massimi and Albergati. It is not to be supposed that he was specially addicted to repeating himself, such resemblances are only to be looked for in any man's work, and serve to establish firmly the authenticity of nearly all the works ascribed to Peruzzi. Various charming houses in Siena are by such internal evidence easily identified as his work. Among them the Casa Pollini, in the Via Baldassare Peruzzi, for they honoured this architect by naming a street after him. It is not an uncommon type of the Italian town house, distinguished from ordinary work only by the delicacy and richness of its chief cornice, its inclined base, the breadth of treatment, and the harmony of its proportions. A lane at this point meets the street at an acute angle, which is simply truncated, with excellent effect. The block shows the detail of the rich cornice in terra cotta, which is buried beneath an eave of greatly projecting rafters. It may have been about this time that he furnished the designs for the Palazzo Albergati of Bologna (Plates 38—40), although the building does not appear to have been completed, so far as it now stands, till some years after his death. The whole effect of this building, unfinished as it is, is one of simplicity, attained



CORNICE OF CASA POLLINI, SIENA.
Peruzzi, Archt.

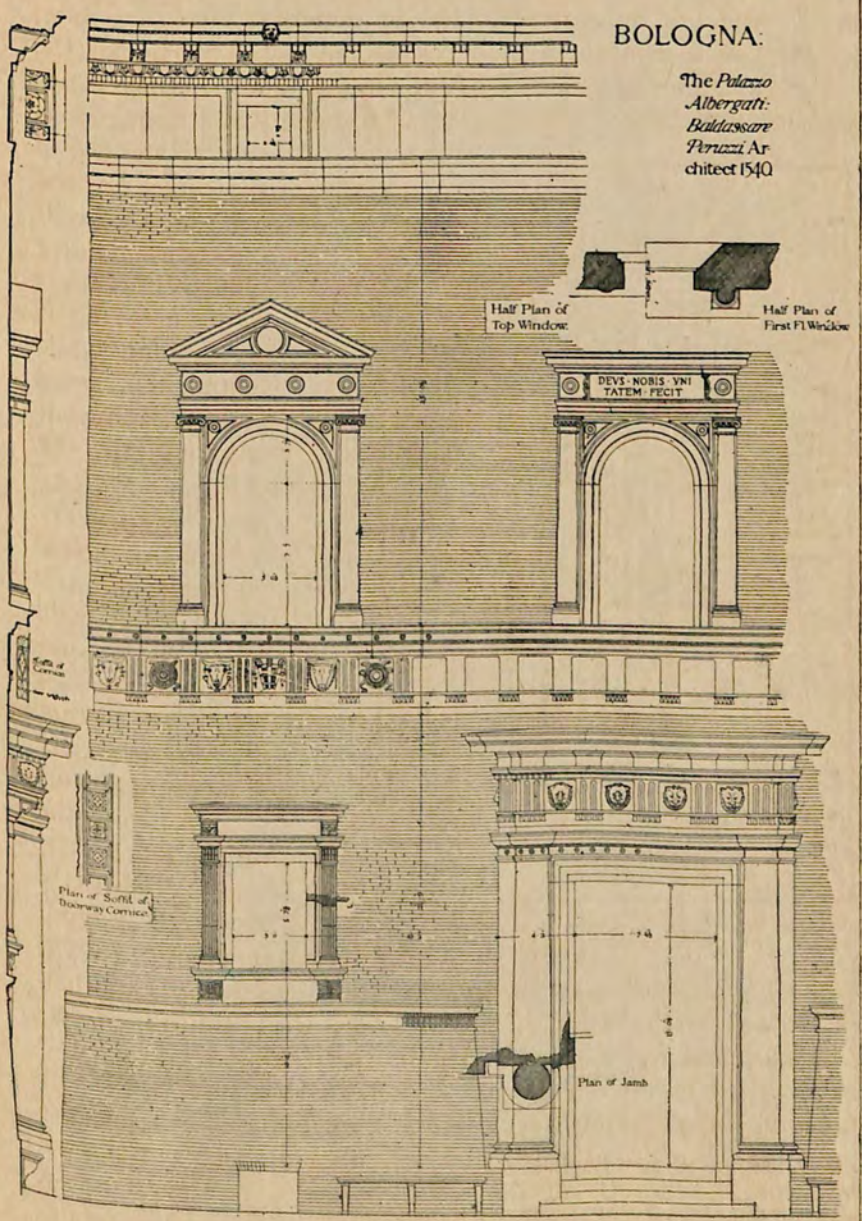
by mass of undisturbed wall surface and length of horizontal line, unbroken by projections. Equal simplicity is attained by Sanmicheli, as will afterwards be seen, but it is got in a different way, and no methods could be more dissimilar than those of the two men, though their results are in this particular the same. To mention meantime one circumstance, Peruzzi, since his first work, the Farnesina, seems to have had a strong aversion to the use of the order on the exterior of a dwelling-house, never save on that occasion employing it throughout, while Sanmicheli never built one without reverting to the orders. Before examining the details of this house we may remark that it is only little more than one-half its extended length, the farther doorway (the only one originally purposed) being the centre of the design. Generally Peruzzi's mouldings and decorative sculpture indicate a superior knowledge of the antique than is evinced in the work of his contemporaries; the use of certain enrichments or profiles is confined to him, or takes a new form in his hands. This first floor cornice is typical, with its Grecian bed moulding over the Doric triglyph and the series of lions' and human heads. The cope moulding of the sloping base plinth, too, if not Greek in character, is Egyptian. A flat band or fillet below cornices and mouldings is a refinement peculiar to his work. This will be better understood by



DOORWAY, ETC., OF A HOUSE IN THE VIA BALDASSARE PERUZZI, SIENA.

BOLOGNA.

The *Palazzo Albergati*: *Baldassare Peruzzi* Architect 1540

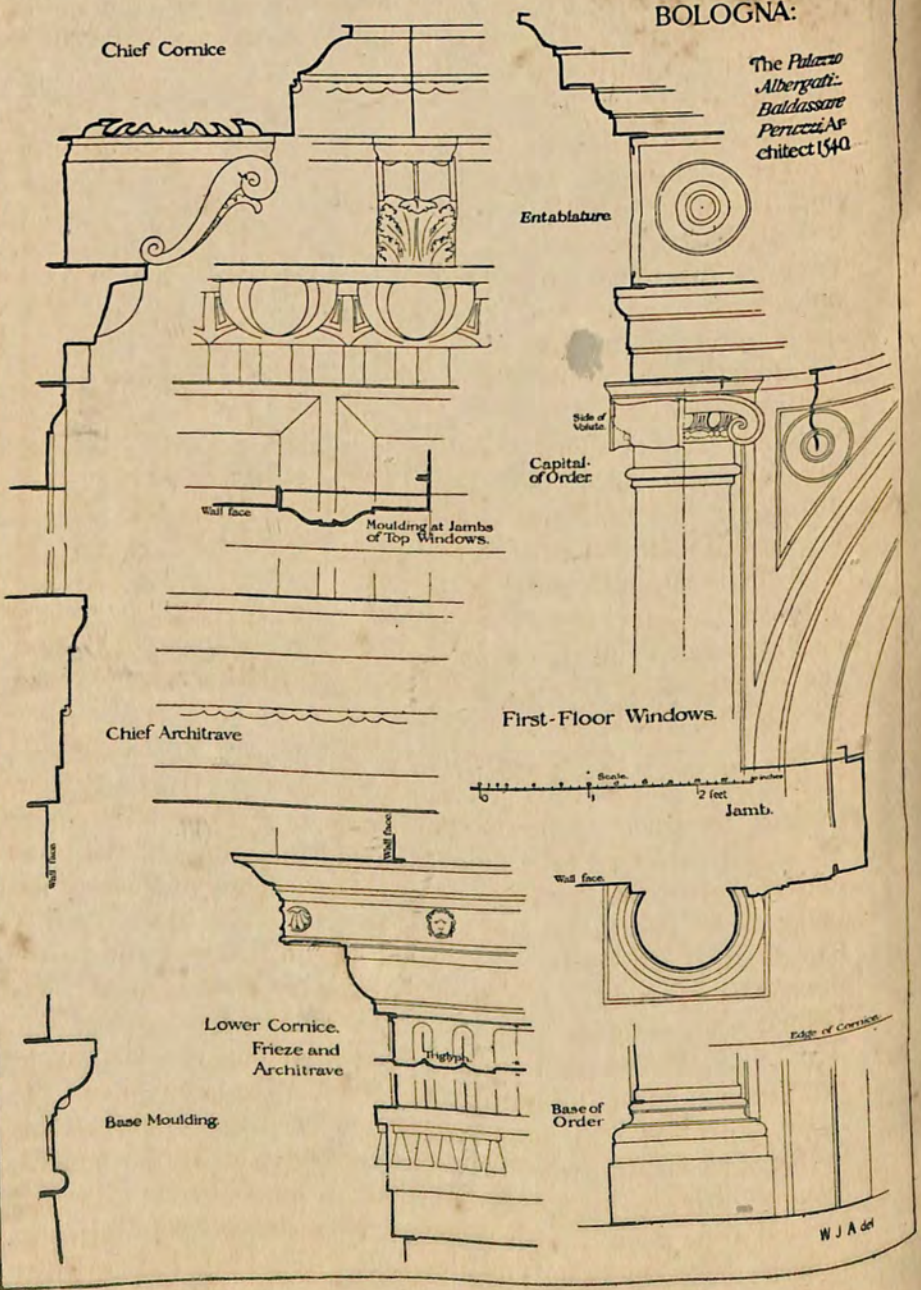

Half Plan of Top Window
Half Plan of First Fl. Window
DEVS · NOBIS · VNI TATEM · FECIT
Plan of Soffit of Doorway Cornice
Plan of Jamb

Part Elevation of Façade.

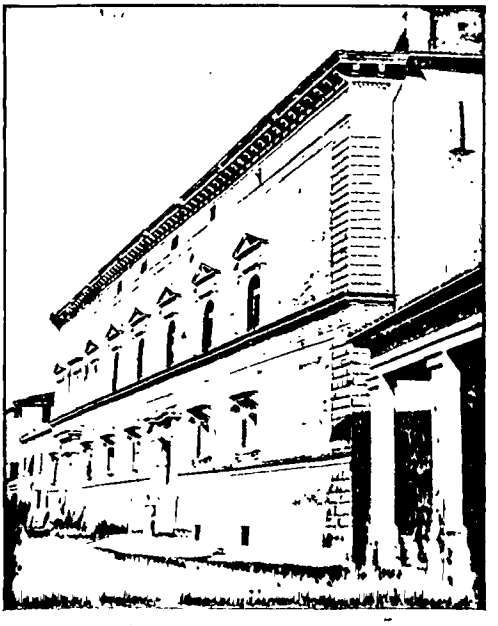
W.J.A.M

BOLOGNA:

The *Palazzo Albergati*: *Baldassare Peruzzi* Architect 1540



reference to the Palazzo Massimi, afterwards built by Peruzzi at Rome (page 88), where the mouldings incline surprisingly to the Greek sections, as for example in the door cornice and architrave, or the string course below the upper columns of the inner loggia. The ogee is, however, Peruzzi's favourite moulding, employed in every position, often as an architrave and quirked slightly, as in the Albergati. In the bed of the cornice it is very frequently employed as a cymarecta (page 108), an unusual position for this profile, and one condemned by Chambers as not affording sufficient idea of support. From the delicacy of their outlines as well as their individuality of character, there can be little doubt that the profiles were drawn by the master's own hand.



PAL. ALBERGATI, BOLOGNA.
Peruzzi, Archt.

By way of contrast to those Grecian or Græco-Roman designs the doorway of the Pal. Prosperi at Ferrara, on Plate 41, may be referred to, a florid Roman composition of the same master: powerful, daring, and effective; detail and execution being faultless and beyond criticism. Of white marble, thirty feet high, it stands in every way unrivalled among the palace doorways of Italy. The little palazzo in Rome, in the Via Giulia, also exhibits some of this florid tendency (page 89). This, and the Massimi, were probably among the last works of Peruzzi, and he did not live to complete the last named. We have illustrated and described only a very few works of this industrious master, whose great talents after all appear to have availed little to his profit, so that in his old age he found himself very poor, and died under the most sorrowful circumstances. He was laid in the burial place of Italy's great

ones, the Pantheon at Rome, alongside his great compeer, Raphael. We are told that the Roman painters, sculptors, and architects accompanied his body to the grave, and that his fame was greater after his death than during his life; that "more particularly were his judgment and knowledge vainly desired, when Pope Paul III. determined to cause the Church of San Pietro to be completed, seeing that all then discovered how useful his assistance would have been to Antonio da Sangallo."*

Peruzzi's works generally are characterised by their simplicity, breadth, beauty of proportion (though inclining to lowness), the delicacy and purity of the moulding profiles, and the ingenuity displayed in every detail, nothing being executed at hazard. His hand is easily to be traced throughout, and there is thus less difficulty in identifying his work than there is with that of his contemporaries. In general design he is broad and simple, never startling by crudities or eccentricities. It is much to be regretted that we have so little of his work on a grand scale that worthily embodies his powers of composition, but in the erection of the simple dwelling he has displayed the same talents and care, and his artistic capacity is proved by this quite as much as if his own St. Peter's had been carried to a successful issue.

We turn now to his almost equally able contemporary, the Veronese. Although Sanmicheli lived to a good old age, and probably executed in his lifetime more architectural work than any contemporary, his personal history, as told by Vasari, has singularly few incidents of what might be called human interest. He was born in 1484 at Verona, and derived from his father and uncle, who were architects, his first impulses in the direction of architecture. At sixteen he was sent to Rome, and by nothing more than the zeal of his study of the antiquities soon became well known in the city and beyond it. As his biographer puts it:—"Moved by the fame thus early acquired, the people of Orvieto invited our young architect to their city, where they made him superintendent of works to their so frequently cited cathedral." An altar in the cathedral, the crypt of San Domenico, and one or two houses, are the record of his work there; but at the same time he erected, so far as complete, the Cathedral of Montefiascone, a little town some fifteen

* Vasari's *Lives of the Artists.*

DOORWAY OF SAN MICHELE IN BOSCO, BOLOGNA.

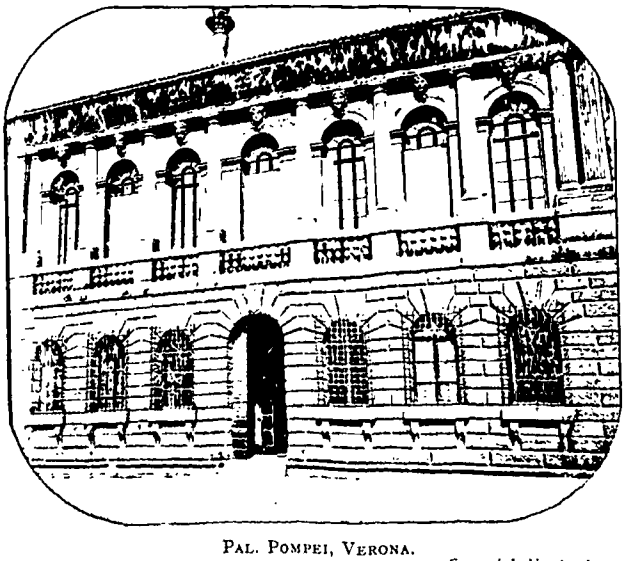
DOORWAY OF PALAZZO SACRATI (PROSPERI), FERRARA.

BALDASSARE PERUZZI, *Archt.*

miles distant. On account of the unsettled state of Italy at this time, Pope Clement VII. made choice of Antonio Sangallo and Sanmicheli, and associated them in charge of the fortifications of the Papal States, which formed a belt across the peninsula; especially they were required to protect Parma and Piacenza on the Northern boundary. This was probably his introduction to the principal occupation of his life. Visiting his native town and district, he was imprisoned as a spy at Padua, but soon liberated, and invited to enter the service of the Signoria of that city. This flattering offer he did not accept, but his services were soon afterwards secured by the State of Venice, after he had fulfilled all the wishes of the Pope, and had been relieved from his employment. This circumstance marks the beginning of his success. In the service of the Venetian Republic he constructed fortifications at Verona, and at Lido and Murano (islands of the Lagune), and restored the fortifications of Dalmatia, Corfu, Cyprus, and Crete. The obliging Republic lent him for three years to the Duchy of Milan, and his services were so much in request that the enemies of Italy, the Emperors Charles V. of Spain and Francis of France, put themselves in the position of declined patrons. The value set on Sanmicheli was in these troublous times purely utilitarian, but later his merits as an artist were thoroughly appreciated, and in more modern days the Veronese have erected a statue to his memory, inscribed "Michele Sanmicheli, great in civil and religious architecture, supreme in military," and no juster epitaph could be given him. His powers of invention and initiative were unequalled. In fortification work he was the first to use the triangular or pentagonal bastion, in place of the round or square form, and in civil architecture the original character of his work nearly effected a revolution in the style, and left its mark on Venetian architecture down to the latest period.

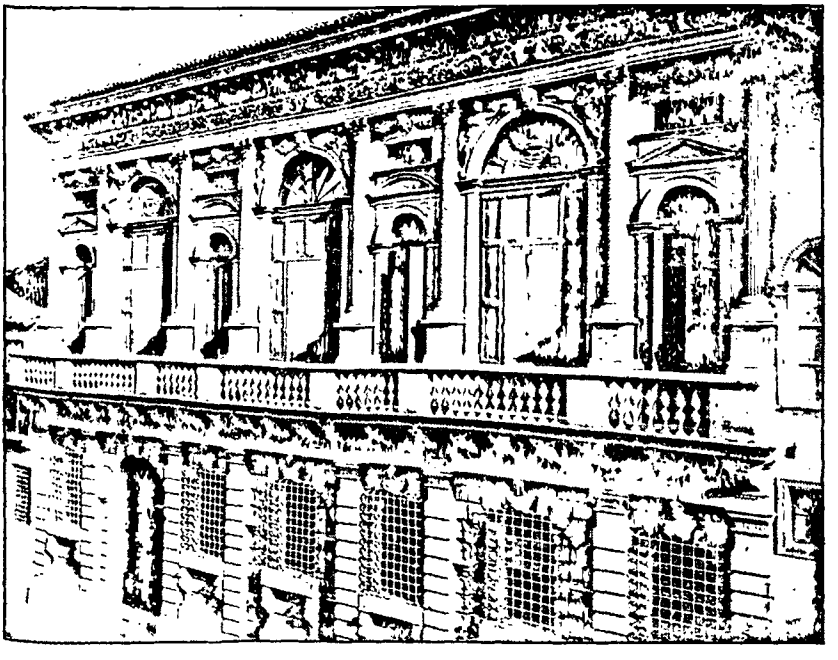
It was almost certainly Sanmicheli's familiarity with the military engineering work which fed his excessive love for bigness, and of extreme simplicity. In his suppression of mouldings, wherever possible, he anticipated by some three and a half centuries, an artistic tendency of the present day in not unwholesome reaction from the opposite extreme. The effect of this in its application to domestic work may be well illustrated

by the example of the Palazzo Pompei (1530). The simple rusticated lower storey is an almost invariable treatment, although rusticated pillars or pilasters are sometimes employed by him. Mouldings or carving are denied to the window sills and brackets, and a plain plinth both below and on top of the first floor balustrade takes the place of the usual cornice and string course. The piling up of the column bases on a double plinth is a characteristic touch. Rich as the collonaded top storey is, simplicity is maintained in the treatment of the archivolt of the upper windows, a double fillet and plain fascia being considered enough emphasis and decoration. The great heads on the keystones of the upper window arches serving to support the overhanging entablature (actually, as well as in effect, for the architrave is jointed over them), emphasize also the simplicity of the whole composition. The doorway is high and narrow, but the low proportion of the Doric columns should be noticed, being just seven diameters high and the pilasters only six and a half. Both are fluted, and the effect is very much that of purely Grecian Doric columns. In this example can be traced a combination of the early Florentine and the later Roman usages. The lower storey we might find in many of the palaces in Florence, while the upper is distinctively Roman, an application of the Theatre of Marcellus type. The two are welded together with considerable skill, and it may be that the absence of a cornice at the first floor assists this.



PAL. POMPEI, VERONA. *Sanmicheli*, Archt.

Less severe is the Palazzo Bevilacqua in the same city, where a rhythmical grouping of the pillars, *à la* Bramante, has been employed. By such a division the maximum of light is gained without too great sacrifice of stability, the grouping of the two supports satisfying the eye, and permitting of a window being cut through between them. The effect however, would be happier if this perforation had been avoided.

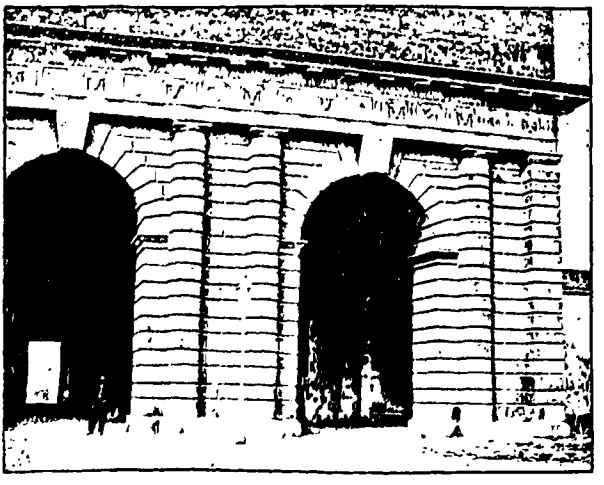


PAL. BEVILACQUA, VERONA.
Sanmicheli, Archt.

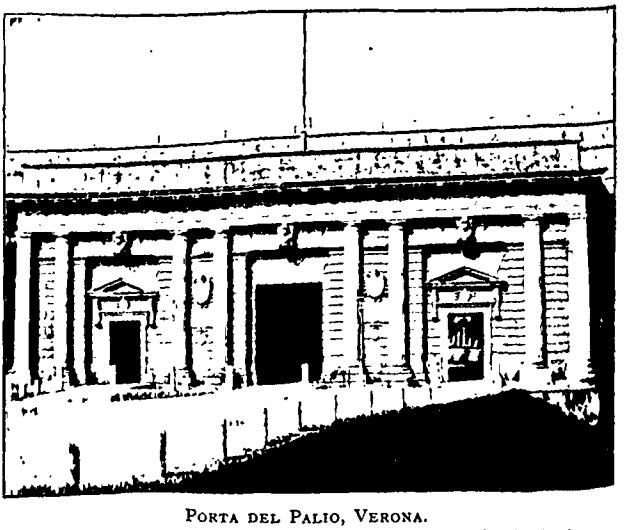
Here the lower rusticated storey is boldly pilastered, and the upper columns fluted spirally, like the pillars of the church at Brescia, or the columns of late Roman times. Again we observe the raising of the columns high above the balustrade, on pedestals.

The Porta Stuppa, or del Palio, is one of the most admired productions of this scarcely rivalled genius, and deservedly so, as in its interior he has shown what may be done by pure proportion and the simplest materials. Almost every decoration that could be dispensed with: base, astragal, archivolt, are given up, and yet the result is nobly beautiful. Those who scoff at the idea of proportion producing architecture may well be set

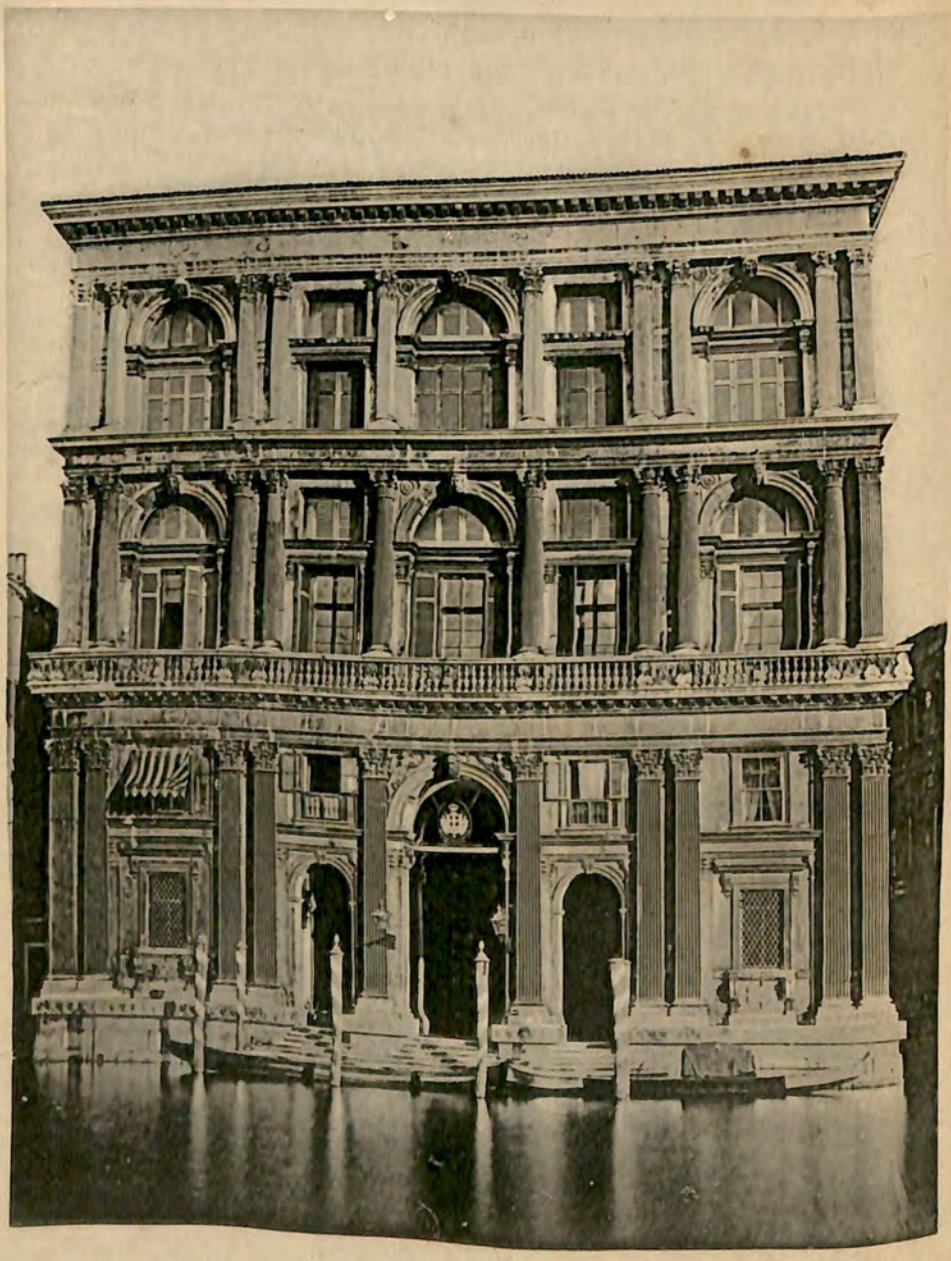
to study this exquisitely designed gateway. Sanmicheli here gives a taller proportion to his Doric columns than usual with him, probably to counteract the lines of horizontal coursing and the extra thickness in which the rustication involves the column. It should be noticed that the stone courses are irregular in their depths, and not set off with the exactitude supposed to be characteristic of Renaissance work. The unusual character of the impost is to be remarked. On the exterior the composition is less simple but even more interesting. The impost is raised to a higher level so as to support a perfectly flat arch with another flat arch beyond and underneath, on simple jambs. The columns (eight and a half diameters) are embedded, and instead of being built in courses with the rest of the work, as on the other side, are in large upright stones. The only jar in the composition is



PORTA DEL PALIO, VERONA,
Sanmicheli, Archt.



PORTA DEL PALIO, VERONA.
Sanmicheli, Archt.

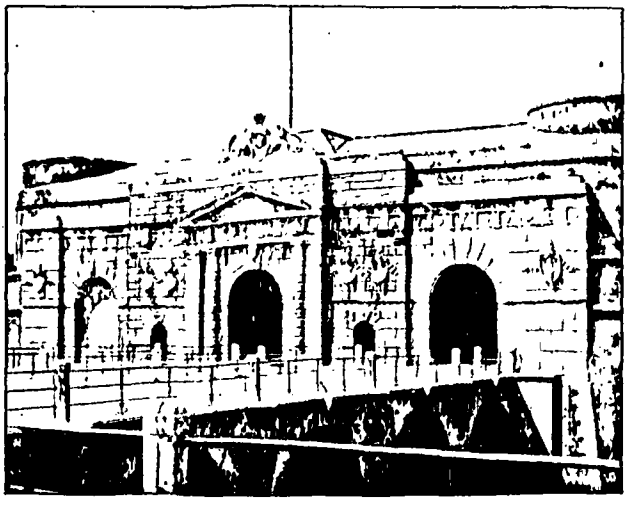


THE PALAZZO GRIMANI, VENICE.

MICHELE SANMICHELI, *Archt.*

produced by the ungainly straddling side door pediments. The fine Doric frieze and architrave are in large blocks of stone, jointed, as in most of his work, through the centre of the triglyphs over each column and each bust or key-block.

This other gateway, the Porta Nuova, by the same master hand, attains a still greater simplicity and severity, and is an equally fine composition. But the immense keystones in which Sanmicheli delighted, have the effect of lowering the impost in relation to the architrave, and so have cut the wall into two equal parts with less happy effect. So far in this case does simplicity go that the archivolt is formed, in the centre opening, by simply recessing the arch stones, and instead of cornice a



PORTA NUOVA, VERONA.
Sanmicheli, Archt.

plain plinth and capping are employed over the side triglyphs, if they can be called so, when the two complete glyphs or channels are wanting. Here again the courses are pleasingly varied in depth.

Sanmicheli's most famous work is perhaps his Capella Pellegrini in San Bernardino in Verona (a highly decorated circular Corinthian interior), but his greatest is the Palazzo Grimani at Venice (Plate 42) which, however, was carried out by others after his death. This is a pile of much dignity and majesty, and has been universally admired. Even Ruskin, little as he likes Renaissance, and especially this phase of it, says that "there is not an erring line, not a mistaken

proportion throughout its noble front." But the reader will agree that its faults are more apparent than in our architect's more perfect work at Verona. The lowest storey is magnificent, but the comparative lowness of proportion on the two upper storeys, and the sameness of them, offend. The squatness of the first floor is contributed to by the balustrade, which cuts off the actual height of the arch orders. A curious circumstance is the varying proportion of the same order, which is used throughout, save in the arch orders of the top storey, which are Ionic. The main pilasters are fluted as usual in Sanmicheli's work. The actual height of the building is ninety-eight feet, and it is ninety-two feet wide. In the setting out, Sanmicheli has retained the irregular horizontal distribution of the earlier Venetian work, grouping his windows in the middle, and in this respect it is exactly the same as the Vendramini (page 61). The vertical disposition is also similar even to the balcony on the first floor, but with differing proportions. But the traceried window had to be given up as being non-classical, in obedience to the law of rejection of such elements. The result is that although losing the almost feminine grace of the Vendramini, it has gained a certain masculine vigour and power, a character quite as good in its own way. The Grimani presents a composition only to be looked for in Venice, but it is a development of the Venetian type complicated by its architect's Roman education and leanings.

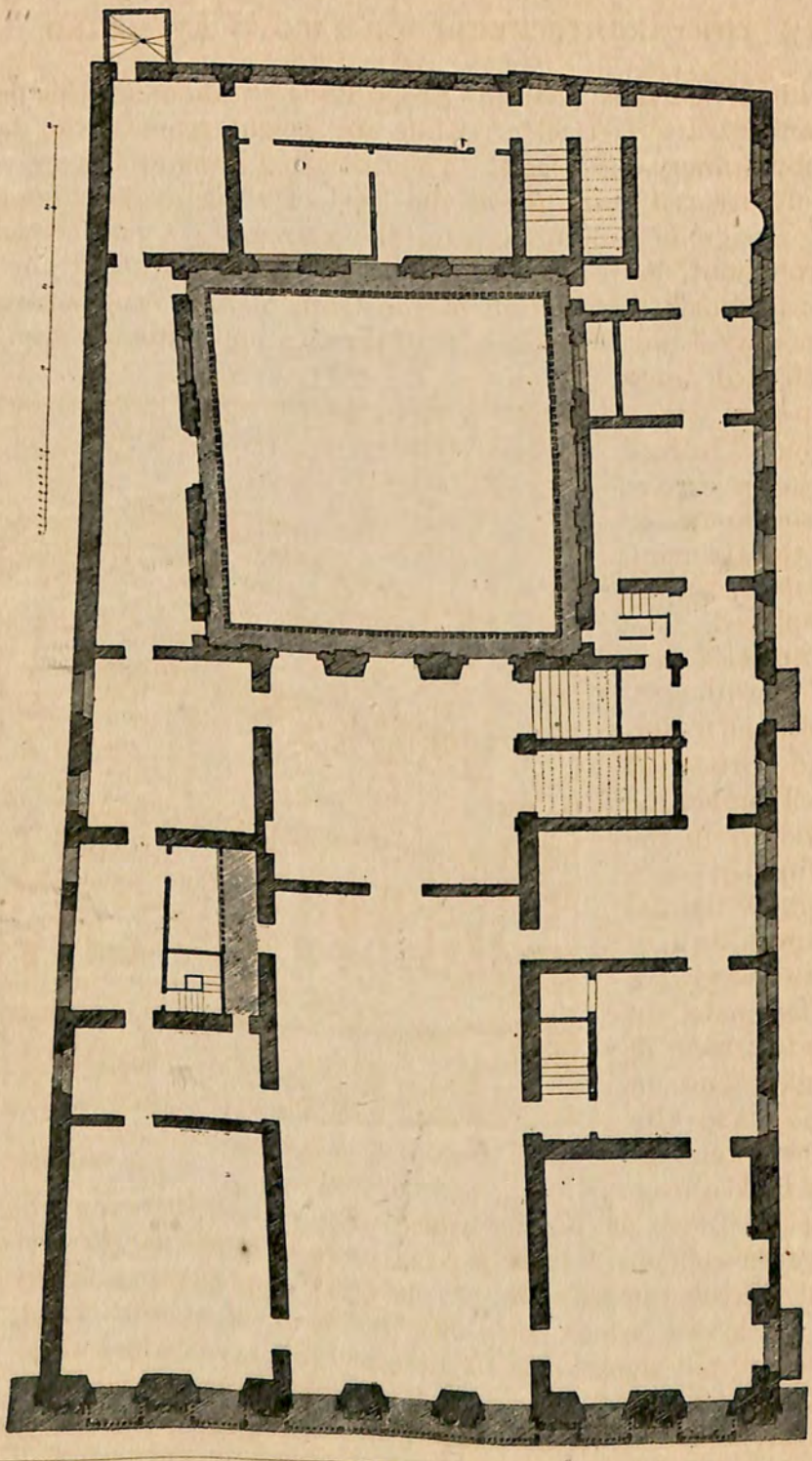
It is therefore a mistake to speak of a Venetian school of Renaissance architecture. The steps of architectural progress cannot be traced in Venice alone, and there were in fact several schools. First, that of the Lombardi, which produced the beautiful early work in Venice, introduced probably, and certainly influenced from Lombardy, of which the Vendramini and the Miracoli church are good examples. Second, that of Sanmicheli and Sansovino, perfectly distinct, and influenced directly from Rome, which will become more clear as we review the work of the later master. In the title of this chapter there is a double signification in the word Roman; this, however, will not obscure the meaning. Primarily it is intended to signify Roman in the modern or sixteenth century sense, the influence exerted by the artists in Rome of that date; but it may also be correctly taken to represent the influence of such antique Roman buildings as the Theatre of Marcellus, and the triumphal arches, by which

at this culminating period the architects of the renaissant Rome were guided. Closely following on these two distinct Venetian schools was that of Palladio and Scamozzi, to whose work the next chapter will apply itself, while a fourth school is that of the seventeenth century architects, who did excellent work in Venice on quite different lines. This seaborn city is remarkable as containing work of all periods from its early Christian foundation to the eighteenth century, and perhaps the best of each period, and for these reasons is architecturally the most interesting city in Europe.

Jacopo or Giacomo Sansovino has many points in common with the great Michelangelo. Like him, he was born into the early phase of the Renaissance in Tuscany, by his sculpture and architecture did good work for the culminating period, and unfortunately, too, assisted its decline in his own declining years. Apart from Michelangelo, he was the last survivor of the group of talented architect-sculptors associated with Florence, and the only rival that versatile genius had to fear in the field of sculpture. Once, at least, they were brought into competition, in the case of the proposed façade of San Lorenzo at Florence, the honours resting with Michelangelo, who should have refrained from the architectural competition, it being the desire of Pope Leo X. that he should execute the sculpture and generally supervise the work. In the event it proved the most barren victory he achieved, resulting in nothing but misspent years in marble quarries. Jacopo was born in Florence, probably in 1486, the generally accepted date of 1477 being now disputed. His family name was Tatti, but he was called Sansovino from his first master (Andrea da Monte Sansovino), the great sculptor and architect of the later Early Period, to whom he became as a son. The fame of the pupil has eclipsed that of the master, but Andrea was really the greater artist, and one who by his inventive powers materially aided in bringing about the changes of the sixteenth century. Going as a young man to Rome, Jacopo found employment as a sculptor under Bramante and others, and devoted himself so assiduously to the study of the Roman antiquities that he fell ill and had to return to breathe his native air. Remaining for a time in Florence a brilliant career opened for him as a sculptor. It was at this time he competed for the façade of San Lorenzo, and with his plan and model journeyed once more to Rome to interview the

Pope. The whole work being, however, entrusted to Michelangelo, he seems to have decided not to return to Florence, and so at Rome he entered upon what may be called the second period of his artistic career, and became more specially an architect. Here he built two churches, one the national church of the Florentines, which was preferred by Pope Leo X. to the designs prepared by Raffaello, Antonio Sangallo and Peruzzi, and several palaces, among them the Niccolini, illustrated in Letarouilly. He was also, it is believed, associated with Peruzzi in at least one undertaking, a *casino* for the Pope Julius III. In the confusion caused by the sack of Rome in 1527, Sansovino took refuge in Venice, where a degree of tranquillity and security was at that time to be expected. Here he seems to have been cordially welcomed and much appreciated. At the age of forty-one he entered on the happiest and most prosperous period of his career, during which he executed the series of remarkable buildings on which his fame rests. The glimpse which Benvenuto Cellini gives of his personal character is not pleasant. After insulting a sculptor, Tribolo, a former pupil, whom he had asked to Venice, and who had been accompanied there by Cellini, by dismissing *him*, and by asking the latter to dinner, "he never once ceased" (in Cellini's words) "to boast at table of his own performances, whilst he made very free with Michelangelo, and all other artists, however eminent. I was so disgusted at this behaviour, that I did not eat one morsel with appetite. I only took the liberty to express my sentiments thus: 'O Signor Giacopo, men of worth act as such; and men of genius, who distinguish themselves by their works, are much better known by the commendations of others, than by vainly sounding their own praises.' Upon my uttering these words, we all rose from table murmuring our discontent." However this may be, Sansovino was very much esteemed in Venice for his work's sake at least. He and Titian were close friends, and when it became necessary to raise a large sum by special taxation on the citizens, the two artists were exempted.

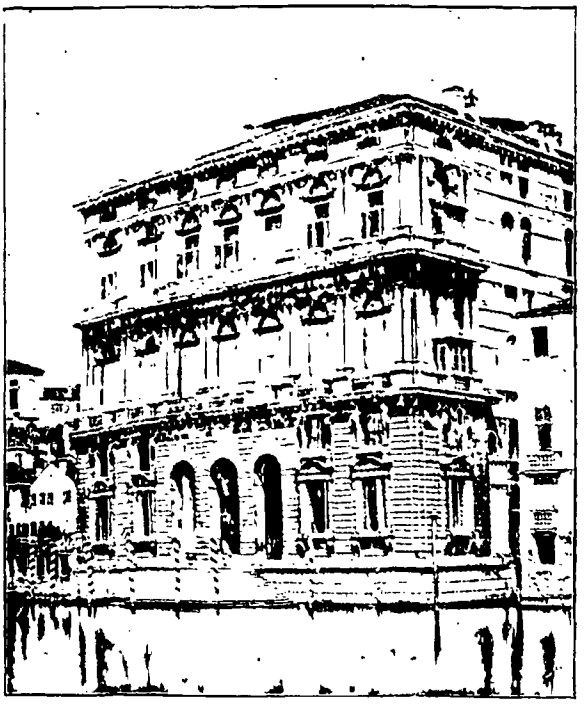
The Palazzo of the Cornaro della Ca' Grande (1532) has been described by Vasari "as surpassing all the others in majesty, grandeur, and convenience, and perhaps the most splendid residence in Italy," while to Ruskin it is "one of the coldest and worst buildings of the central Renaissance." Perhaps the truth lies between the two extremes. Comparing it with the



PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR OF THE PAL. CORNARO DELLA CA' GRANDE, VENICE.

Cicognara. JACOPO SANSOVINO, *Archt.*

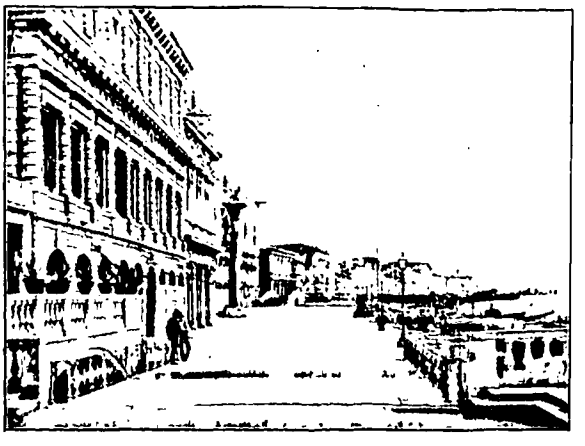
Grimani, we note that the proportions are different, this being about twelve feet wider, while the height remains the same (about ninety-eight feet). The rusticated lower stories are very finely treated, but above the level of their massive cornice the design is monotonous in the extreme. Equal divisions throughout, both longitudinally and vertically, without any of the irregular distribution of the Grimani, and Venetian work generally; and the sameness of the two upper storeys, even to their balconies, render it a failure. Instead of one order throughout, as at the Grimani, all the orders are employed. The spandrils are filled with trophies and torsos, and the oval shell form of the windows in the frieze gives a sign of the decline. Sansovino was always unfortunate in his treatment of angles, and in this case the upper cornices are broken over a paltry ridge of pilaster which shows itself between the engaged columns. It is a relief to turn from the tiresome and overladen upper storeys to the quiet simplicity and dignity of the lowest, which looks like the work of another hand. The cleverest thing about the design is the way in which these two windows are joined. The general arrangement of the palace, as well as other Venetian palaces, may be learned from the plan of the first floor (Plate 43). Above the entrance hall is the great room of the house, which suggests the closer



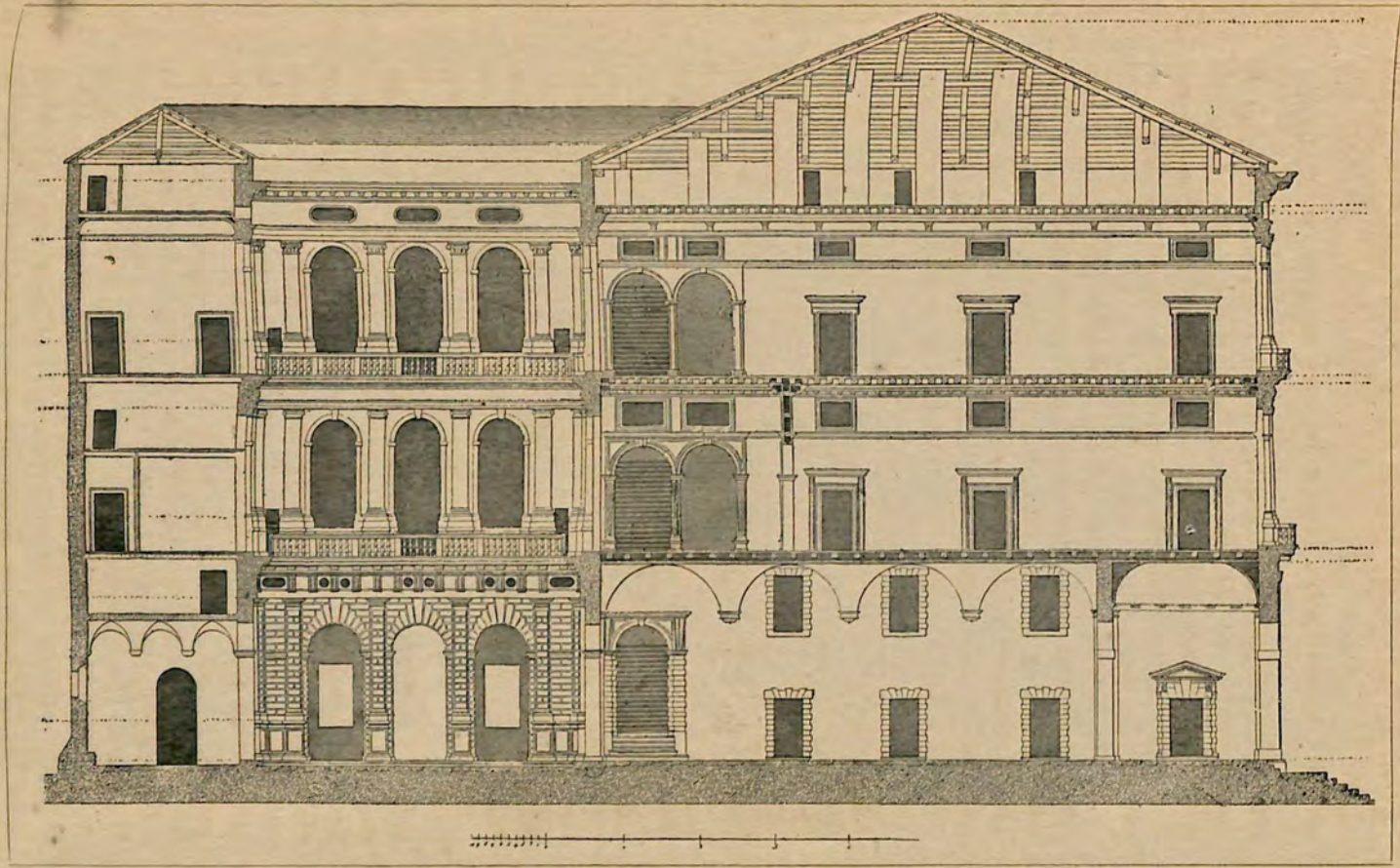
PAL. CORNARO DELLA CA' GRANDE, VENICE.
J. Sansovino, Archt.

grouping of the central windows of the front, so unfortunately not adopted here. An ante-room behind it is lighted from the inner court, the section (Plate 44) explaining the arrangement, and showing the grand entrance from the canal, the staircase, and the elevation of the cortile.

In the *Zecca*, or Mint of the Venetian Republic, a fire-proof stone and iron construction, Sansovino exhibits his San-micheli-manner already alluded to: a very poor imitation it is. The rustication of the pillars is done in a much less happy way than by Sanmicheli, who only recessed the joints of the courses. The canopies over the first floor windows are confusing in their too great projection, and weak in their modillion supports. Sansovino never seems to have discovered the importance of a dominating cornice, or thought he could do without it. In the Cornaro no one cornice is more important than another, while in this case the chief one is at the second floor, and a full order and entablature over. It is only by the appearance of such freaks as these that we can be led to believe that the architect of the *Zecca* was architect of the Library, for their general character is totally different, and it is still more difficult to believe that they were begun in the same year. The end of the Library is seen beyond the Mint, and the relative position of the chief buildings of Venice will be readily apprehended by reference to the view from the campanile of San Giorgio Maggiore. Plate 45 shows in the foreground the Loggetta at the base of the campanile of St. Mark, erected by Sansovino in 1540, with the reliefs finely displayed in what might be called the attic. The figures in the niches represent Peace, Appollo, Mercury, and Pallas, and are the work of the master himself,



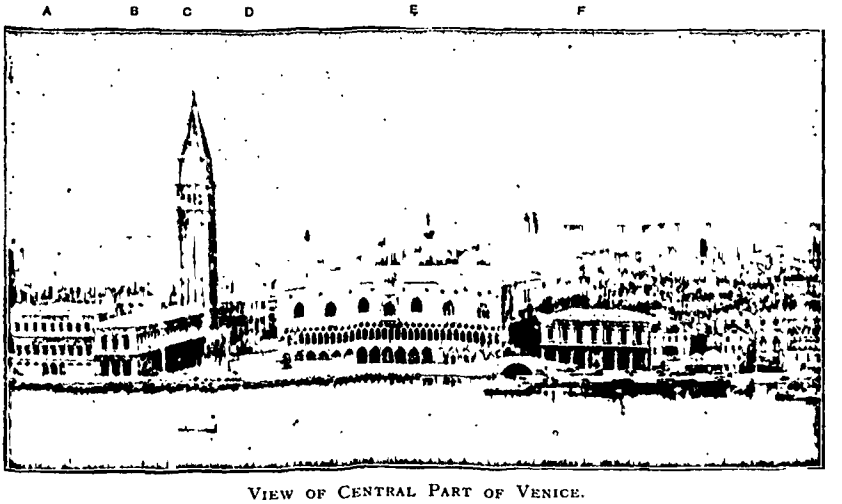
LA ZECCA, VENICE.
J. Sansovino, Archt.



SECTION OF THE PAL. CORNARO DELLA CA' GRANDE, VENICE.

Cicognara. JACOPO SANSOVINO, *Archt.*

as the inscription round their bases records—"Opus Sansovini Florentini." The figure illustrated, Mercury, is as fine as any of them, and in this connection may be quoted Vasari's judgment upon his sculptural work:—"While yielding on the whole the palm to Michelangelo, yet Sansovino was the superior of that artist in certain points. In his draperies, children, and the expression he gave to his women, for example, Jacopo never had an equal. The draperies by his hand are, indeed, most delicately beautiful; finely folded, they preserve to perfection the distinction between the nude and draped



VIEW OF CENTRAL PART OF VENICE.

A The Zecca. B The Library (Procuratie Nuove behind). C Campanile of St. Mark's, and Loggetta. D Procuratie Vecchie and Piazza. E The Doges' Palace (St. Mark's Church behind). F The Prison.

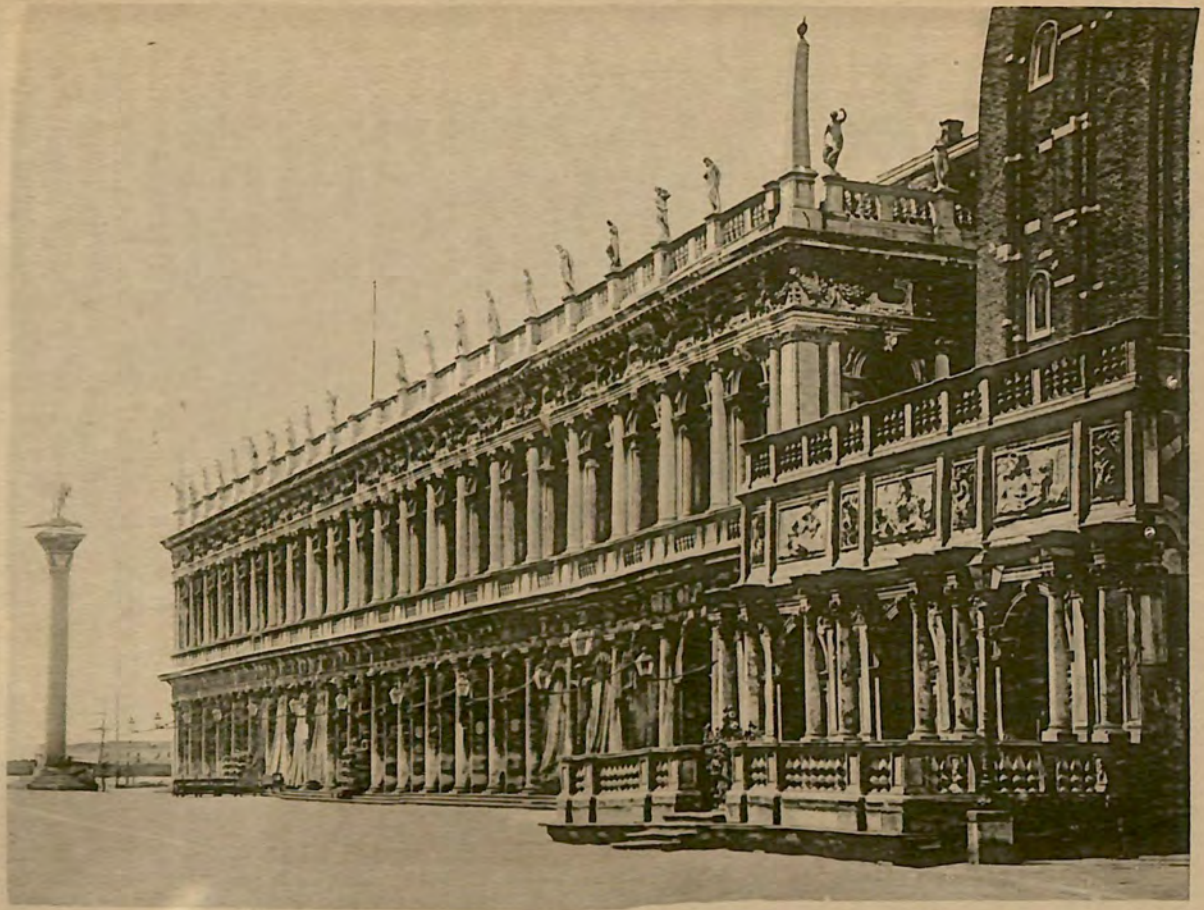
portions of the form. His children are soft flexible figures with none of the muscular development proper only to adults." The colossal figures of Mars and Neptune at the head of the Giants' staircase are also by this master (page 53).

Returning to the Loggetta and the Libreria Vecchia, we observe first in regard to the former that the pillars stand out, supporting a projecting entablature, similar to the doorway of Peruzzi, some forty miles away at Ferrara (Plate 41), and flank three similar arched doorways. There can be little doubt that they were suggested by that work. But the Library beyond is the principal matter; the view is that to the Piazzetta, and faces the Gothic arcades of the Ducal Palace, as if challenging comparison. The high proportions of its entablatures, and the

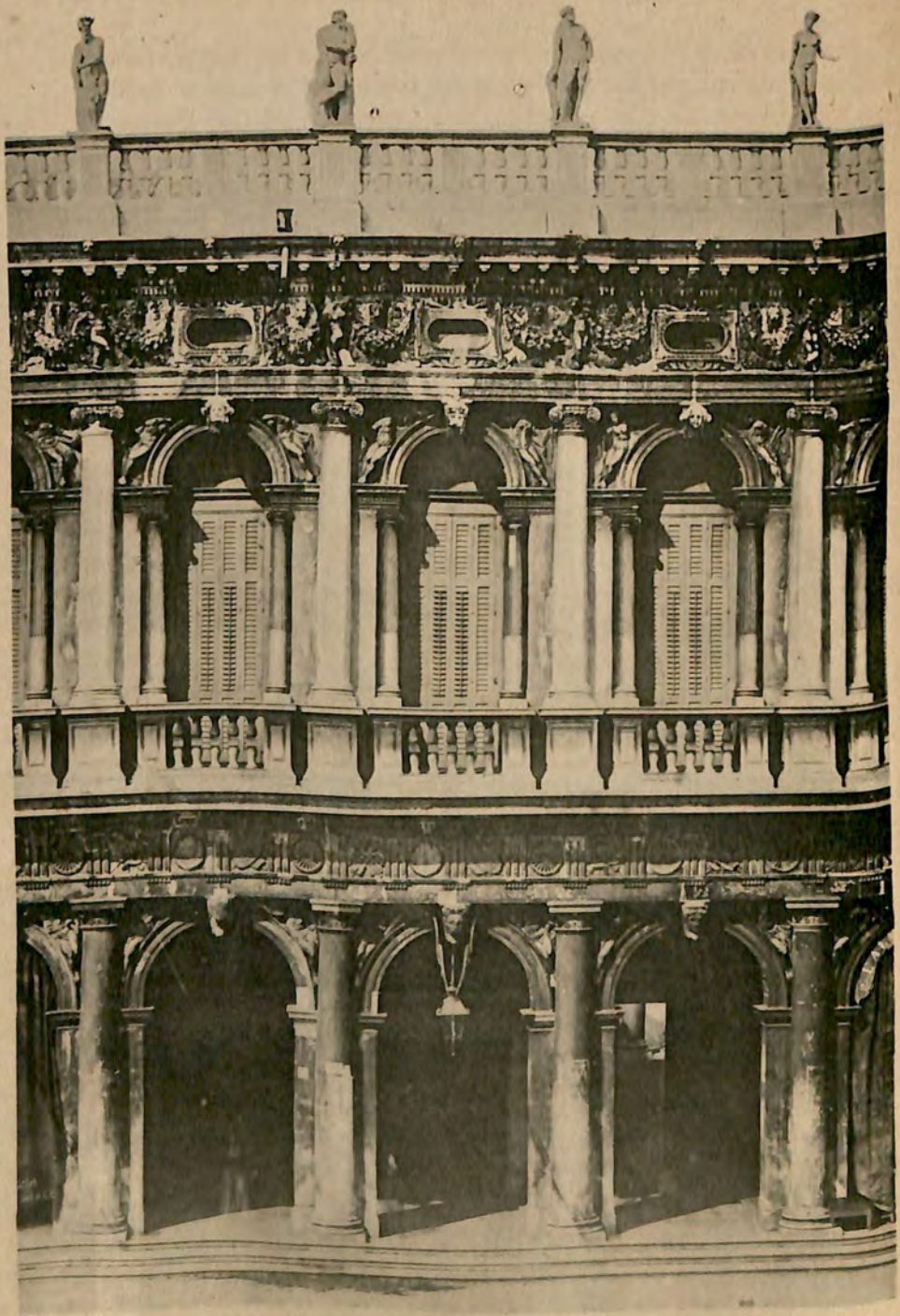
double row of pedestals, as well as the extreme projection of its middle cornice, diminish the value of its columns as elements of rigidity, and the whole has somewhat of the effect of being carved, like the tombs of Petra, out of the living rock. It is sculptor's architecture pure and simple, and if we are to look upon Peruzzi's as painter's, and Sanmicheli's as engineer's architecture, then let us rather choose the work of the painter and engineer. In plan, which shows some ingenuity, the building is a narrow strip, having its chief entrance with fine carved telamones in the centre, under the loggia, but with no feature marking its position on the exterior. The interior of the library shows an elliptical ceiling, whereby hangs a tale. Ordinary coved ceilings came into use in Venice about the end of the fifteenth century, but Sansovino, perhaps disliking plaster ceilings, made an attempt to obtain a more truthful construction by turning in masonry this flat elliptical vault. Unfortunately it collapsed, and poor Sansovino was thrown into prison, and fined 1,000 scudi for his failure, "a fate," says Smirke, "which must have powerfully operated on the minds of his brother artists in overcoming their scruples about plaster coves."

FIGURE OF MERCURY FROM LOGGETTA, VENICE.
J. Sansovino, Sculpt.

The large scale photograph (Plate 46) gives a capital idea of this building in detail. The lower and open arcade is almost perfect in its proportion and treatment, and is in Sansovino's



LIBRERIA VECCHIA AND LOGGETTA, VENICE — JACOPO SANSOVINO, *Archt.*



PART ELEVATION OF THE LIBRERIA VECCHIA, VENICE.

JACOPO SANSOVINO, *Archt.*

Scale 1 inch to 10 feet.

best Peruzzi manner. We could wish he had carried it throughout. It is true that the heads are the heads of Sanmicheli, but the figures in the spandrils, the treatment of the Doric, and every moulding of it is that of Peruzzi. One peculiarity it has, and defect may be, in the great depth of the entablature (one-third of the column), and an inordinate enlargement of the metope. This seems peculiarly unnecessary in an intermediate entablature. One might also criticise the pillar of the same Ionic order in varying heights, but on the same level, as also the crowding of the pedestals on the first floor cornice. The upper entablature is exceedingly high, being one half of the column supporting it, and is evidently proportioned to the height of the whole façade. As mentioned before, it derives from the Chigi villa (Plate 36) its sculptural detail and arrangement of windows. The stylobate is too shallow for due effect, while the steps should have been double the height. It were easy to point out faults, for the work cannot be commended as architecture of the very highest class, but it has many charms, and few buildings have been more admired and imitated.

If they are regarded as a whole, it is not too much to claim that the series of remarkable buildings described in this chapter, joined to those referred to in the last, prove that this culminating period of the Renaissance was a great fact in architectural history, quite worthy of comparison with the Periclean age in Greece, the Augustan era of Imperial Rome, or the climax of mediæval art in France and England. It would be altogether unreasonable to claim that it was superior to Greek or Gothic, except in certain particulars, but in its comparative amenability to modern requirements it touches us more nearly to-day than either. It has its own artistic value apart from Greece or ancient Rome, and within its own limits rose in the first half sixteenth century to a high degree of excellence. The approach to anything like perfection in art is proverbially perilous, and was in this case soon succeeded by decline; but it is not to be supposed that all the work of the Late Period is of a depraved and worthless sort; on the contrary, much of it is extremely beautiful and suggestive, while some of the most important and extensive works in Italy were carried on to completion during that time. Its most profitable lesson for us, however, may lie in the errors and excesses which characterise degeneracy, and which it is possible to shun.

LATE PERIOD 1550 TO 18TH CENTURY.

CHAPTER VI.

PALLADIO AND THE DECLINE.

A CHARACTERISTIC TENDENCY OF REVIVALS TOWARDS LITERAL REPRODUCTION AND EARLIER PHASES OF THE PROTOTYPE—SOME OF THE CAUSES OF THE DECADENCE—THE LITERAL WORSHIP OF THE TEXT OF VITRUVIUS—SERLIO ON HIS "INFALLIBLE DIRECTIONS"—THE DECISIVE CAUSE OF DECAY—MICHELANGELO'S ARCHITECTURAL WORKS—PALLADIO—HIS POPULARITY IN THIS COUNTRY—HIS REAL MERITS IN MAKING BEST OF SMALL OPPORTUNITIES AND INFERIOR MATERIAL — THE BASILICA, VICENZA—HIS OWN OPINION OF IT—HIS JUDGMENT IN ITS DESIGN—PAL. PREFETTIZIO — VALMARANA, BARBARANO, TEATRO OLIMPICO — CASA DEL DIAVOLO—IL REDENTORE, VENICE, A RICH AND STATELY INTERIOR—VIGNOLA, A FOLLOWER OF PERUZZI — SOME OF HIS WORKS — MICHELANGELO AGAIN—ST. PETER'S AT HIS DEATH—DOME COMPLETED—CARLO MADERNA EXTENDS THE NAVE — THE ILL-FATED EASTERN CAMPANILI —BERNINI'S PERISTYLE AND BALDACHINO — BORROMINI AND HIS PRODUCTIONS — A LOMBARD RESURRECTION OF THE GROTESQUE — THE TIME OF OBELISKS, PILLARS, AND FOUNTAINS — THE LATERAN PORTICO OF S. MARIA MAGGIORE — GENOA — ALLESSI'S WORKS — INTERIOR OF SS. ANNUNZIATA—SCAMOZZI—VENICE—PROCURATIE NUOVE—S. MARIA DELLA SALUTE — A THIRD STAGE IN OCTAGON INTERIOR TREATMENT — THE BAROCCO STYLE EXPRESSIVE OF OSTENTATION—TOMB OF DOGE VALIER—PAL. PESARO—THE LAST WORD OF ITALIAN ART—TENDENCIES OF THE DECADENT PERIOD—CONCLUSION.

CHAPTER VI.

PALLADIO AND THE DECLINE.

So far as we have had experience of revivals in art and architecture, it would seem to be their common fate, that, taking rise in bold and original work inspired by the prototype, but mixed with a good deal of what was currently accepted, they should tend more and more to an approximation to that prototype till something like literal reproduction is reached, and the revival finally robbed of its vitality. And so the Renaissance, beginning with the original work of Brunélleschi, followed in the main this tendency when relieved from the authority of his immediate school. Nothing in the earlier phases of the Renaissance movement approached so nearly to antique Roman ideas as Sansovino's Library, Palladio's Basilica, or Vignola's numerous works; and the early work of the Lombardi or other Northern masters, despite its delicate refinement, does not shew so close an approximation to Grecian art, either in the spirit or the letter, as Sanmicheli displays in his Porta del Palio, Peruzzi in his Massimi, and Palladio in his latest Vicenza palaces.

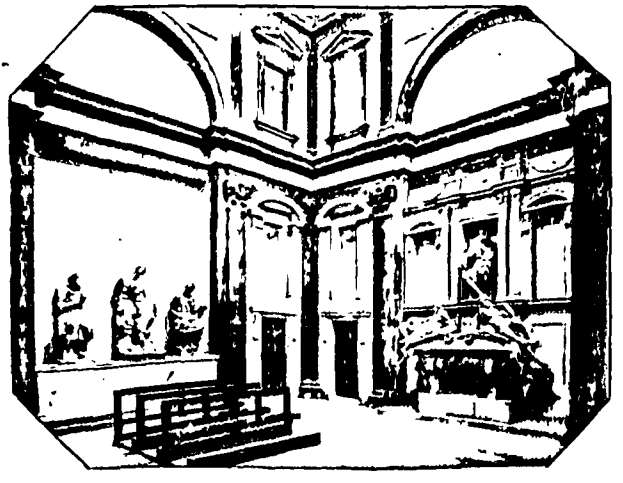
Closely connected with this tendency is another which may or may not be characteristic of revivals, but can be clearly discerned in the course of the Italian Renaissance, namely, that the later developments are first seized on by the revivalists, who thereafter gradually incline to adopt earlier treatments. If it were worth while the same inclination could be traced in the English Gothic revival of the last generation. And the Italian Renaissance in Brunelleschi's time (except in the case of the Etruscan palazzi, which were on a different footing and may be left out) was inspired by somewhat late Roman work, as was also Bramante's first and second manner. More distinctly is this observable in Milan and Venice, where, beginning with a combination of features which derived their origin from the Roman buildings of the type of the Baths of Caracalla, or third century, it culminated in a reproduction of Augustan Roman, and expired in Palladio's almost Grecian later work.

It is not necessary to conclude from such backward tendencies, as many have done, that the whole basis of the Renaissance architecture was false and wrong. All phases of art have had their decline and fall, and in the nature of things the Italian revival could not maintain its brilliancy for ever. Nor did it deteriorate for lack of life in the elements of the style, for these were turned to good account subsequently in France and England. What we have to face is the fact, that, after a century of experiment and preparation, the revival, reaching its highest point in the works of Peruzzi and Sanmicheli, collapsed almost as suddenly as it arose.

Some of the disturbing causes which brought about this unfortunate result are not far to seek. Chief among them those which are comprehended in the final decline of real prosperity and liberty within the country, which in the early years of the sixteenth century had reached its zenith; next in importance, the ascendancy of Michelangelo and his vitiated style; and also the intensified classicism which prevailed, and the reduction of classic architecture to a system of rules and regulations. Taking the least important first, it should be borne in mind that the apotheosis of Vitruvius, "that worst of architects," had reached its full height, and the most absurd homage was paid to the man who happened to be the only architectural writer whose works were preserved from antiquity. Some idea of the mischievous nonsense which permeated the minds of the best architects of the time, may be derived from the philosophy of Serlio, a pupil of a greater than Vitruvius, writing about the middle of the sixteenth century. In speaking of the ruins of the Theatre of Marcellus, one of the most admired works of the Augustan period, he says: . . . "It standeth within Rome; you may at this day see part of it standing upright, that is part of the galleries without. It is only of two orders, namely Doric and Ionic, a work, in fact, that is much commended, although the Doric columns have no base, nor any cincture or projection under them, but stand plainly without anything under upon the flat ground of the gallery. Regarding the plan of this theatre men could not well conceive it; but not long ago a great patrician of Rome going to make a house, the situation whereof was to be upon part of the theatre (this house was made by one Balthazar of Siena, an excellent workman), as he caused the foundation to be digged there was found many remains of divers

cornices of this theatre; and a great part of the same theatre was discovered, whereby Balthazar conceived the whole form of it, and measured it with great care, placing it in this form. I, myself, being at the time in Rome, saw many of the cornices and found friends to measure them; and there, in truth, I found as excellent forms as ever I saw in any old ruins, and mostly in the capitals of the Doric, and also on the imposts of the arches, which I think agree well with the doctrine of Vitruvius. Likewise the frieze, triglyph, and metope, agree well enough; but the Doric cornice, though it be very full of members, and well wrought, yet I found it to differ much from Vitruvius' instructions; for being rather prodigal of members, it was of such a height that two-thirds of it should have been enough for the architrave and the frieze. I am of opinion, therefore (by the licence of these or other antiquities), that a workman in these days should not make a mistake (and by mistake I mean to do contrary to the precepts of Vitruvius), nor to be fully determined that he will make a cornice, or other thing just of the same proportion as he hath seen and measured, and then set it in the work; because it is not sufficient for him to say 'I may do it, for ancient workmen have done it without consideration whether it be proportioned according to the rest of the building.' Besides, although an old workman was so bold, yet we must not therefore be so, except as reason teaches us, and should observe Vitruvius' rule as our guide, and most certain and infallible directions; for that from that time of great antiquity till now there is no man found to have written better, nor more learnedly of architecture than he. And as in every art there is one more learned than another to whom such authority is given that his words are fully accepted and without doubt believed, who then will deny (if he be not ignorant) that Vitruvius in architecture is worthy of the highest eminence, and that his writings, where no other notable reason or cause is to move us, ought for their own worthiness to be inviolably observed, and to be better credited than any work of the Romans? . . . Therefore all those workmen that shall condemn Vitruvius' writings, especially in such cases as are clearly understood, as in the Doric order of which I spoke, should err greatly in the art of architecture to gainsay such an author, who for so many years has been, and yet is, approved by learned and wise men."

Thus the writings of Vitruvius, nebulous as they were on many points, and perhaps partly because of their obscurity, were set up as the only and infallible standard of excellence, not alone by Serlio, who is only giving expression to the attitude of a very large proportion of the architects of his generation. But it was not the ridiculous idolatry of Vitruvius, still less a slavish following of antique models, that wrecked beyond hope of deliverance the revival of art. These it might have outlived; indeed, it is possible to conceive that upon this foundation a superstructure nobler and finer might one day have been reared. But what should we expect of a generation of architects who were careful about the proportions of a column and careless as to its use: who discussed its proper proportions and entasis, the depth of its base and capital, and yet were indifferent whether it did its constructive work, or merely carried a bust, or filled a recess? The loss of conformity to constructive principle was the decisive cause of the decay of Renaissance architecture, and if the responsibility can be attached to one man, that man was Michelangelo, the greatest genius of all.

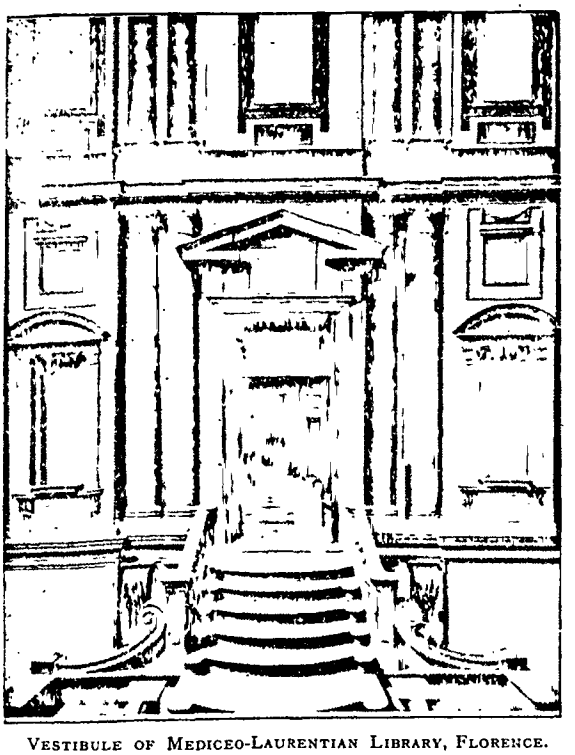


NEW SACRISTY, SAN LORENZO, FLORENCE.
Michelangelo, Archt.

His earliest important architectural works, not to speak of unrealised designs, such as that for the façade of the Church of San Lorenzo, Florence, were the Medici Mausoleum, better known as the New Sacristry, and the Mediceo-Laurentian Library, adjoining the same church. The Sacristy, which was begun on the accession of Pope Clement VII., another Medici, and roofed in about a year's time (1524), was of the same shape and dimensions as the old sacristy of Brunelleschi (page 17). In the architectural manipulation of the interior so far as then

TOMB OF LORENZO DE' MEDICI,
NEW SACRISTY, SAN LORENZO, FLORENCE.
MICHELANGELO, *Sculpt. and Archt.*

accomplished there are no signs of the approaching decadence; but before 1534, when he left his magnificent tombs incomplete, he had constructed the architectural background shown in Plate 47, in which the germ of the barocco fashion may be discerned. He had besides furnished a vague design for the vestibule and staircase of the Library, which the ever-faithful Vasari attempted to carry out according to his ideas, finishing it in 1571, with what result the illustration will suffice to show.

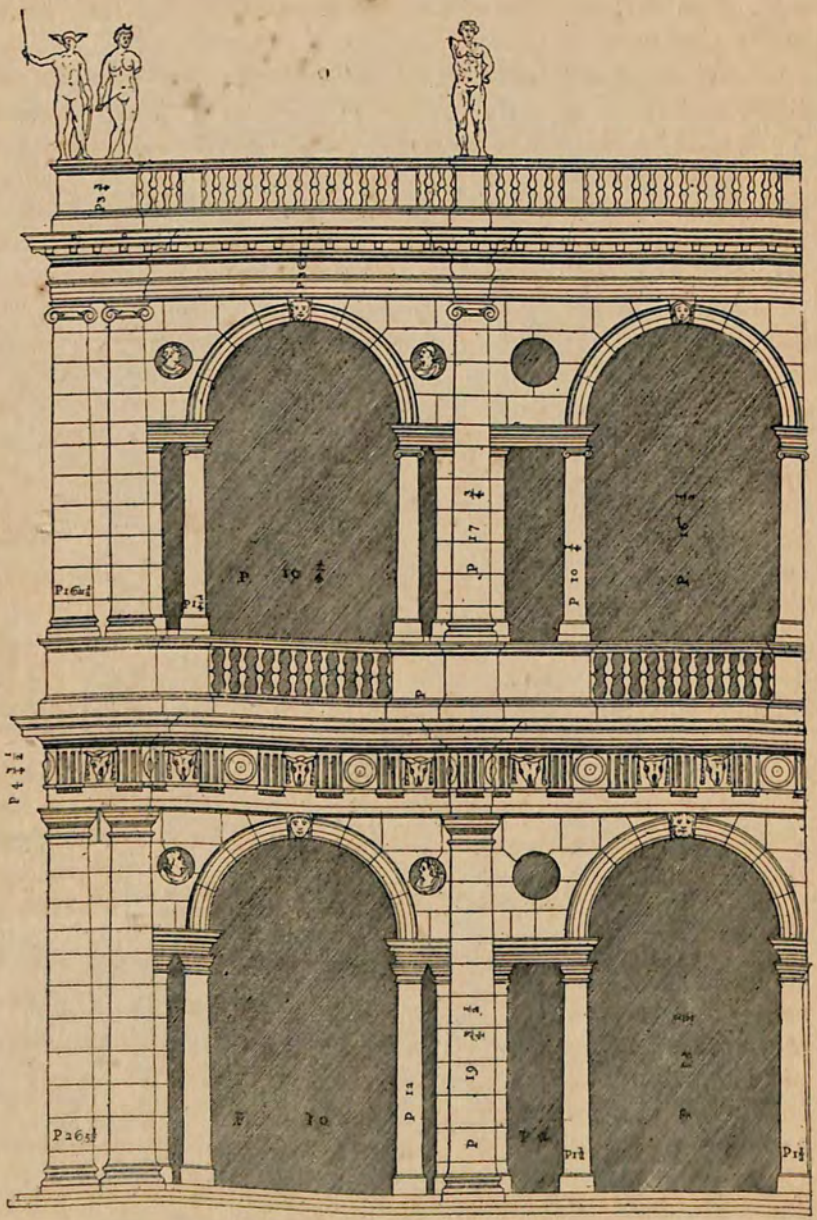


VESTIBULE OF MEDICEO-LAURENTIAN LIBRARY, FLORENCE. *Michelangelo and Vasari*, Archts.

The qualities in Michelangelo's work which appear to have led architecture into the dark and devious ways of the barocco corruption, were: first and chiefly, its insincerity, in which may be included not only an absence of truthful construction or logical articulation, but the tendency to employ architectural features as mere scenery, and to introduce false or unnecessary windows, niches, panels, consoles and balustrades, arising out of an unwholesome dread of unbroken wall surface; second, a quality which from its nature had less disastrous consequences, that of exaggerated scale, well exemplified by the vulgar Corinthian pilaster treatment of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, erected in the seventeenth century from his design, as well as in the gigantic pilaster and attic of the exterior of St. Peter's. It is not difficult now to see that Michelangelo had not learned so much as the grammar of the art of architecture; but his

enormous reputation as a painter and sculptor, at a time when men were less disposed to restrict genius to a narrow field, led to his architecture becoming the mode, and under the conviction that so great a personality could do nothing wrong, every solecism, vice, vulgarity, was painfully copied by those who came under the influence of his work. But there was at least one district of Italy where his ascendancy was disputed.

The cleverest architect of the late Renaissance was unquestionably Andrea Palladio of Vicenza (1518—80). Of his life we know very little, but his remaining works show him to have been a man of fine perceptions and no little originality. The time at which he arrived was unfortunate, and his opportunities of an inferior sort to those which fell to the lot of less competent men, but he made the most of them, and Vicenza, his native town, where he lived, and worked, and died, is of great consequence in the study of the Late Period. From the time of Inigo Jones downwards Palladio has been particularly admired in this country, and his name has here attained quite a fictitious importance. Why he should be better known and more honoured than Brunelleschi, Bramante, Peruzzi, or Sanmicheli, it is difficult to understand, unless it be that he showed what could be done on a small scale and with simple and cheap materials. It has been said that he knew how to make a building "grand without great dimensions and rich without much expense." In his works you do not find marble or precious stones, for his genius was stifled in an inferior kind of cement, and he seems to have rejected all idea of colour effect. It is this which makes Vicenza one of the dullest and most depressing towns in Italy, and has led to the remark that there "the cold hand of that friend of virtuous poverty in architecture lies heavy in many places." But to do him justice the faults of his work were the faults of the age rather than of the man; and in no place was the tide of the corruption and barbarism of the barocco or rococo fashion more firmly stemmed than in Vicenza. Indeed, to his influence is due the great superiority of the whole of the late Venetian work over that of Rome and Genoa, other active centres at the time. It is probable, however, that his great fame out of Italy is mainly due to the popularity (if we might apply the term to any architectural work) of his book, which has passed through

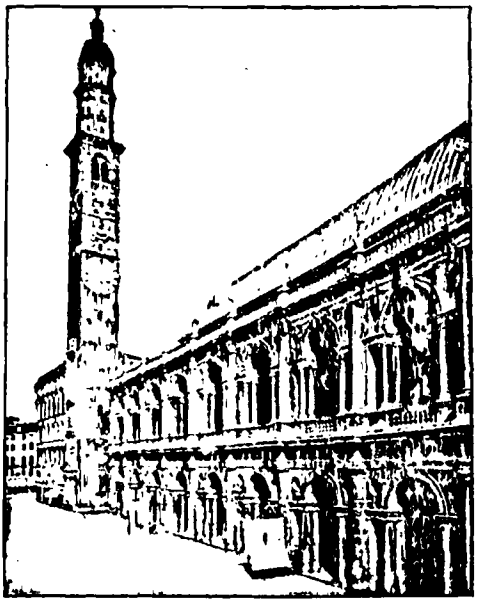


DETAIL OF THE BASILICA, VICENZA.

Palladio. ANDREA PALLADIO, *Archt.*

a great number of editions, and has been translated into many of the European tongues.

At the age of thirty-one, in the year 1549, Palladio constructed these arcades around the Gothic Consiglio or Town Hall of Vicenza, and thereby achieved a success he never surpassed. He describes it as a modern Basilica, and doubtless it must have closely resembled such a building as the Basilica Julia in the Forum Romanum. He was not bashful about it himself, and in his book, published at Venice in 1570, he says with almost pardonable pride: "I don't question but that this fabric may be compared to the ancient edifices, and be looked upon as one of the most noble and beautiful buildings erected since the time of the ancients, as well on account of its largeness and decoration as of its matter, which is all hewn stone, hard to the last degree, and joined and bound together with the utmost care." This reference to its truthful construction is interesting in view of the fact that Palladio in his later practice found that architectural effects could be got out of less worthy materials, as common brick, wood, and stucco, of which indeed nearly all the Vicentine palazzi are constructed. In considering this building of precious hewn stone in detail, we notice that its setting out or width of bay is determined by that of the original Gothic hall to which it is an adjunct. It is this probably that has suggested the whole treatment, a repetition in each bay of what has been called the "motif a la Palladio." The feature might with better reason be known as the motif of Peruzzi, having been revealed a full development by that master in the Palazzo Linotta, Rome; the large central arch springing from



THE BASILICA PALLADIANA, VICENZA.
Palladio, Archt.

the entablature of the columns with lesser lintelled spaces, and the spandrils filled by moulded square panels. In this case the spandrils have a simply pierced circular opening, and the richness of the whole is much increased by the great thickness of the wall and the consequent double range of columns carrying the arches of both tiers. The whole composition and details do not depart in any important point from the practice of the architects of the Central Period, and the work properly belongs, both in time and character, to that epoch. Sanmicheli, it is true, would have made the cornices continuous, and supported the entablatures with his gigantic heads at the key stones, but Palladio in breaking the entablature round the columns in this case has shown great judgment, for the bays otherwise would certainly have looked much too low and squat. The returning of the cornice and mouldings round the columns assists in carrying up the eye to the figure which completes it, and prevent any sense of clumsiness in the proportion, which was forced upon the architect. In the angles where he was free from this restriction, he has boldly taken advantage of his liberty and reduced the width of the bay, strengthening the corners of the building immensely, and giving further proof of great judgment. The detail drawing (Plate 48) will give some conception of the excellent, restrained, and pure character of the work.

The Palazzi Chiericati and Tiene are, after the Basilica, the most important of Palladio's designs in Vicenza, and among work less frequently illustrated the Palazzo del Consiglio, Municipio, or Prefettizio, a comparatively small building standing opposite his earliest and greatest production. This (Plate 51), like the others we have to show, belongs to a period in Palladio's life about twenty years later, and being more distinctively Palladian, is so much the poorer art. Yet it is still a beautiful and interesting work, and by no means lacking in originality. The arrangement of the elevation is that of Composite pillars on block pedestals, reaching through two storeys, and carrying a main cornice broken round them, with attic over, set well back from the wall line, which is an advantage. The first floor being only marked by the balcony on the front, and without secondary pilasters and entablature, the two storeys merge into one another in a somewhat happy manner. Observe, however, the different treatment of the side; the secondary columns carrying a balcony over the

PALAZZO PORTO BARBARÁNO, VICENZA.

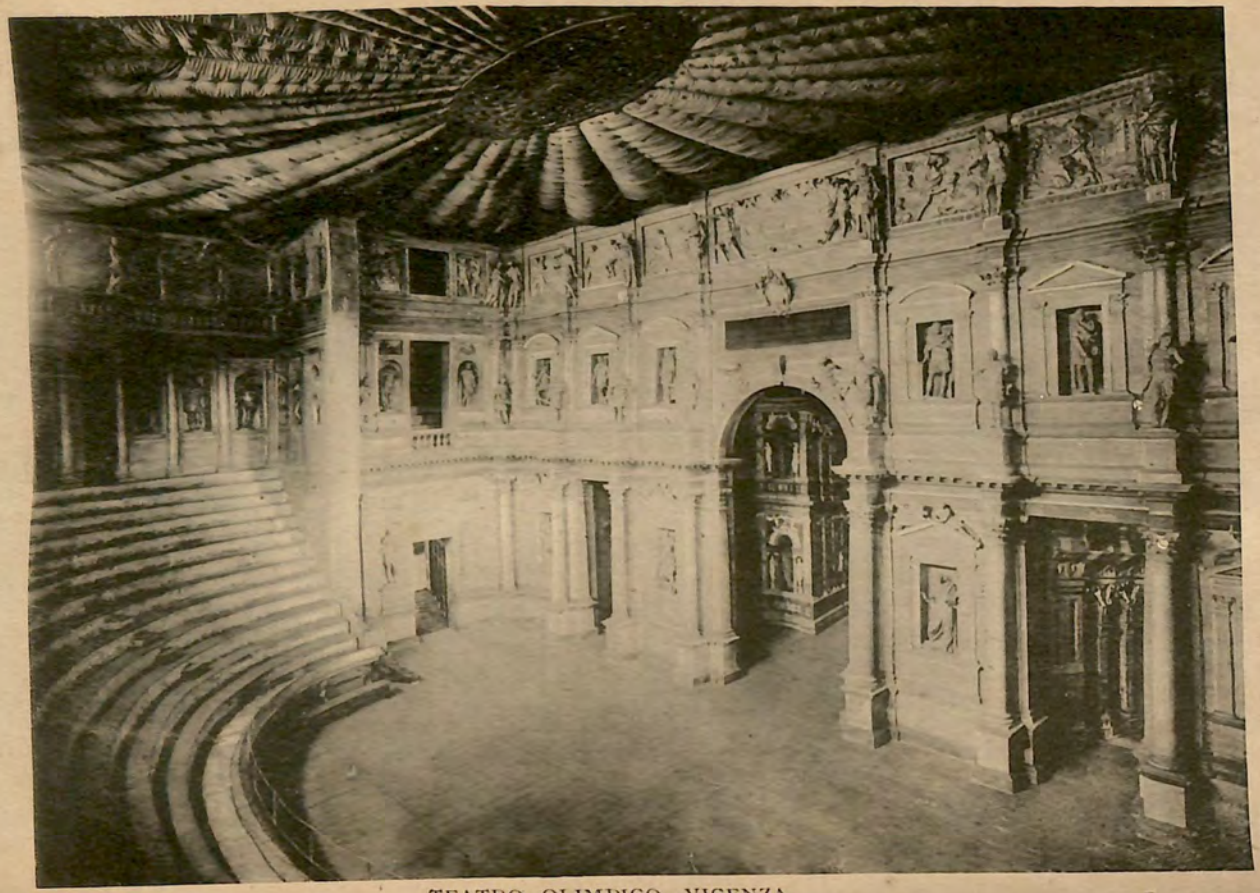
PALAZZO VALMARANA, VICENZA.

middle space and figures at the ends, with other figures on pedestals between the columns. The main architrave is stupidly broken to admit of the formation of an arch at the central window opening. This end elevation certainly shows a decadent tendency. The wall spaces between the windows and pillars are covered with stucco ornament, and the misuse of the triglyph as a bracket is a further sign of decline.

Palladio, however, is perhaps on the whole more to be blamed for the use of shoddy material than for departure from truthful design and appropriate use of parts. Two other buildings in Vicenza are very near of kin to the Municipio, and of them this Valmarana palace is one. Here the order is only in pilaster form, and for that reason much less rich, though possibly better suited to the stucco material out of which the front is formed above the pedestals in imitation of stone. A good deal of criticism has been bestowed upon this building for the treatment of its angles, it being generally assumed from line drawings that the building stood free of others. This photograph, however, shows clearly that, as it stands, there is no return, and only a slight break of the continuity of the straight line of the street, forming a gentle internal angle; and a glance at Palladio's own drawing shows that the angular treatment was never attempted. The figures terminate the façade, and not altogether unhappily, relieving the monotony which would result from the repetition of the pilasters. Palladian architecture is often taken to mean the combination of two storeys in one order, but this is, to say the least, a misleading view. In the first place, Palladio was not the first Italian architect to treat two storeys under one order. It had been done after a fashion both by Bramante and Peruzzi, and most successfully and completely by Sanmicheli in the lower part of the Grimani Palace; and, in the second place, Palladio, almost as often as not, superimposed his orders, or restricted them to the height of a single storey. Indeed he gives in his book elaborate directions for their disposition, "so that the most solid be placed undermost, as being the most proper to sustain the weight, and give the whole edifice a more firm foundation," therefore, he says, "the Doric must always be placed under the Ionic, the Ionic under the Corinthian, and the Corinthian under the Composite," although the Doric, he adds, may be put under the Corinthian so long as the more solid is underneath. That he practised what he preached may

be seen both in the Basilica and in this Porto Barbarano dwelling (1570), also in Vicenza, where the Corinthian is superimposed on the Ionic (Plate 49). The relation of these orders is excellent, the lines of the upper tier being practically the continuation of the lower, and the upper range therefore of less height. In this case, too, the entablatures are unbroken, to the great advantage of the composition, and are restricted in depth, the lower much under its normal proportion, in which great judgment is shown, considering its position as an intermediate entablature. From the time of Michelangelo's tombs of the Medici every architect in Italy seems to have endeavoured to find room for reclining figures on his pediments, not always in the same attitude of sublime repose. In this instance they are employed in suspending stucco wreaths from their elevated couch. Palladio in the Palazzo Barbarano presents us with an interesting attempt at solution of the angle question, which to the Venetian architect seems to have been so much of a puzzle. It is most successful as solving the difficulty of the return of the Grecian Ionic columns, which has perplexed architects in all generations. The studied correctness of this Ionic shaft should also be noticed, its slight diminution, scarcely appreciable entasis, and want of neck moulding; all indicate the influence of the antique type upon its designer, and how carefully he sought to preserve the character of an order. It should be noticed, too, that the columns are not set on pedestals, as usual with Sanmicheli and Sansovino, and the upper tier rises between the balconies from a simple block on the cornice. Indeed, as compared with Sansovino's Library, of earlier date by a few years, this is in many respects superior, and well deserved to be carried out in marble instead of the brick and stucco to which it was never adapted.

Andrea Palladio, like Brunelleschi and Sanmicheli before him, was engineer as well as architect; perhaps he never thought of drawing any distinction between what are now generally understood as different professions. The third of his four books deals alike with roads, bridges, public squares, and basilicas. And, like Peruzzi, with whom he had much in common, his attention was at one time directed to stage accessories and to theatre construction. Instead, however, of any attempted use of the movable scenes already used by Peruzzi, we have here in this

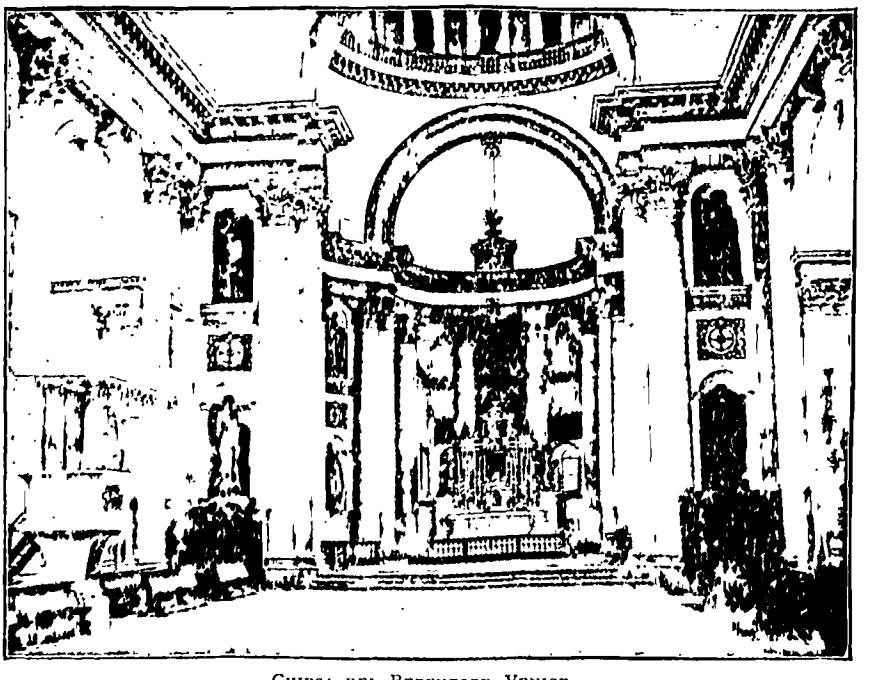


TEATRO OLIMPICO, VICENZA.

Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza (Plate 50), a permanent scenic background of stone, and an arrangement conforming in nearly every respect to the ancient Greek theatre model. Not to speak of the triumphal arch, the elliptical form of the auditorium, and other matters of detail, the principal point of departure from the Greek precedent is the most interesting feature of the whole theatre. For only in Renaissance times could such an idea have suggested itself of a perspective construction of three streets, with palaces and dwellings on either side built in perspective, so as to seem from certain points of view of interminable length. They had this advantage over painted representations, that actors could enter and approach by means of the street or part of it, however much they might mar the illusion by the different scale of heights. This theatre was not completed until after Palladio's death, and inaugurated in 1584 by a performance of "Œdipus the King," the masterpiece of the Greek Sophocles.

The traveller before leaving this quiet and colourless town cannot fail to remark a high and incomplete building on his left when nearing the railway station (Plate 51). It is called for some mysterious reason, the "Casa del Diavolo" (House of the Devil) but it is more generally known in Vicenza as the Antica Posta. Had this façade been completed, it might have ranked as one of the finest of Palladio's palaces; and from this full size model of two bays we can appreciate its good points. Of enormous scale, as the human figures testify, it is beautifully proportioned and delicately modelled. The doorway to the left was probably intended as the centre of the whole, and the middle bay, for this reason, widened, as in the Valmarana and Barbarano houses. Above the pedestal bases it is, like the others, constructed of brick faced with stucco, but this need not blind our eyes to its excellence of composition and detail, as in the Composite capitals, linked together by the festoons not ungracefully, and in the prettily designed balconies. Palladio again makes characteristic use of the flat arch of Sanmicheli; pediments are alternately segments and triangles, and low windows *à la* Peruzzi are obtained in the frieze. It is only, however, the immense scale of this Composite order which enables Palladio to secure his window here, for he was never capable of enlarging the frieze beyond its regulation limit, and in all other cases superimposed the attic on the main cornice.

Besides the buildings which have been mentioned, not to speak of numerous country residences, such as the famous Villa Capra, Palladio's principal works are the Redentore and the façade of San Francesco della Vigna, both at Venice. There is scarcely a church interior in Italy which, with so little expenditure of ornament and with such simple materials, has a richer and statelier effect than this Chiesa del Redentore or Church of the Redeemer. The clustering of the pillars under the dome and the heavy pillar screen behind the altar



CHIESA DEL REDENTORE, VENICE. *Palladio*, Archt.

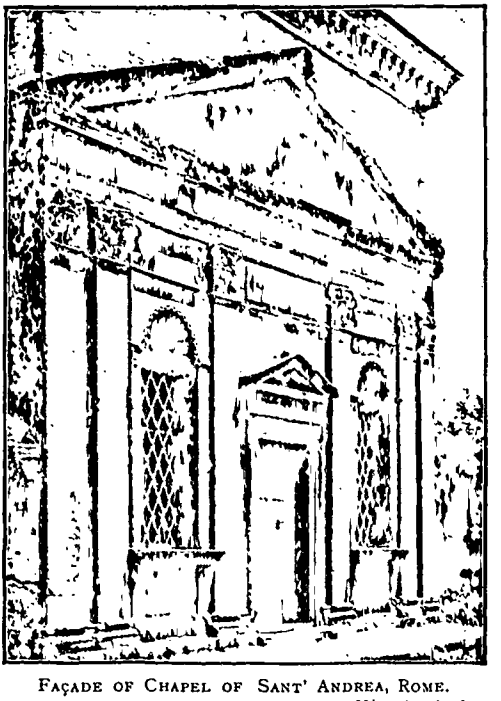
are dignified in effect, and the whole interior has a remarkably religious expression, akin to that which might be produced by slow music of rich full chords. The nave is only forty-six feet wide, so that this dignity is not attained by a great scale. Coming down to matters of technic, it may be noted that the use here made of the Corinthian order as a secondary pilaster, part, one might say, of Sansovino's system, is objectionable for two reasons: (1) that it involves the raising of two pillars of the same order of different heights on the same base, and (2) that it limits the depth of the reveal of this arch in a manner which an

CASA DEL DIAVOLO, VICENZA.

PALAZZO DEL CONSIGLIO (PREFETTIZIO), VICENZA.

ANDREA PALLADIO, *Archt.*

impost moulding would not do. It may also be observed that the pilasters both under the chapel arches and beneath the dome are diminished, and have entasis just as if they were columns, a most objectionable practice of the later Venetians. On the exterior the defect of unequal pillars on a level base is more painfully apparent, and one can admire all the more the expedient Palladio ultimately adopted in his design for the church on the islet of San Giorgio. While the columns and pilasters of Il Redentore rise from a level plane, the principal pillars here are raised on pedestals and the subordinate pilasters dropped to the lower level, thus preventing too close a comparison.



FAÇADE OF CHAPEL OF SANT' ANDREA, ROME.
Vignola, Archt.

While Palladio was engaged in building houses for the people of Vicenza, a kindred spirit, Vignola — to give his family name, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507—73) — lived and worked at Rome. A man of books and rules, and having good taste, he represents almost equally with Palladio the academic side of the retrograde movement. Speaking of Vignola, Milizia says, innocently, "Architecture is eternally obliged to him; he formed a system and prescribed rules." Influenced but little by Michelangelo he was frequently a close copyist of Peruzzi, as his domestic work in Rome attests. The work by which he is best remembered, apart from his book, is the pentagonal Castle of Caprarola, about forty miles north of Rome, which has been frequently illustrated. It was erected for a second Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, nephew of the builder of the Farnese palace, about 1550. This chapel of Sant' Andrea, just outside

the Porta del Popolo, is one of his earlier works, and is on the whole a pleasing and beautiful design. A simple oblong in plan, it is surmounted by an elliptical dome on pendentives. Not far off is the villa of Pope Julius III., which he also constructed, with its grand cortile of semi-circular form, the inner wall of which was decorated in a Pompeian manner. Author of a pentagonal castle, an elliptically domed chapel, and a semi-circular court, it will be obvious that Vignola strove after originality, which he attained in ways certainly more legitimate than those of the succeeding century.

At the first impression it may seem going a long way back to introduce at this point the name and work of Michelangelo, but he, like a Gladstone, was of those exceptional figures, whose life and powers have been prolonged far beyond the allotted span, and are privileged to witness and influence the most complete changes of the progressive periods of human history. An eminent sculptor before the end of the fifteenth century (the David was executed in 1502), it was not till the middle of the sixteenth that, at seventy-one years of age, he gave himself up entirely to the practice of architecture proper in the rebuilding of St. Peter's, after repeatedly refusing the task. It was just at this time that Palladio commenced his career, and although Vignola outlived Michelangelo nine years, and from that period succeeded him in the control of St. Peter's, the architectural practice of the three may be regarded as coeval.

It was with a Titanic energy to which the Vatican Hill had hitherto been a stranger that Michelangelo prosecuted his tremendous undertaking, and at his death left only the dome covering and the Eastern façade unfinished. St. Peter's has already engaged our attention in considering the culminating period, during which it was commenced, but a few facts relating to its later history will not be out of place. In the period during which Vignola took charge after Michelangelo's death in 1564, little of importance seems to have been done beyond the cupolas on either side of the great dome; and it was only in the pontificate of Sixtus V. (a most flourishing period for Rome, 1585—90) that the dome was erected from Michelangelo's wooden model by Giacomo della Porta and Domenico Fontana, two Lombard architects of great renown at that time. Michelangelo had left a design for the dome which involved three separate shells, the inmost and lowest having the

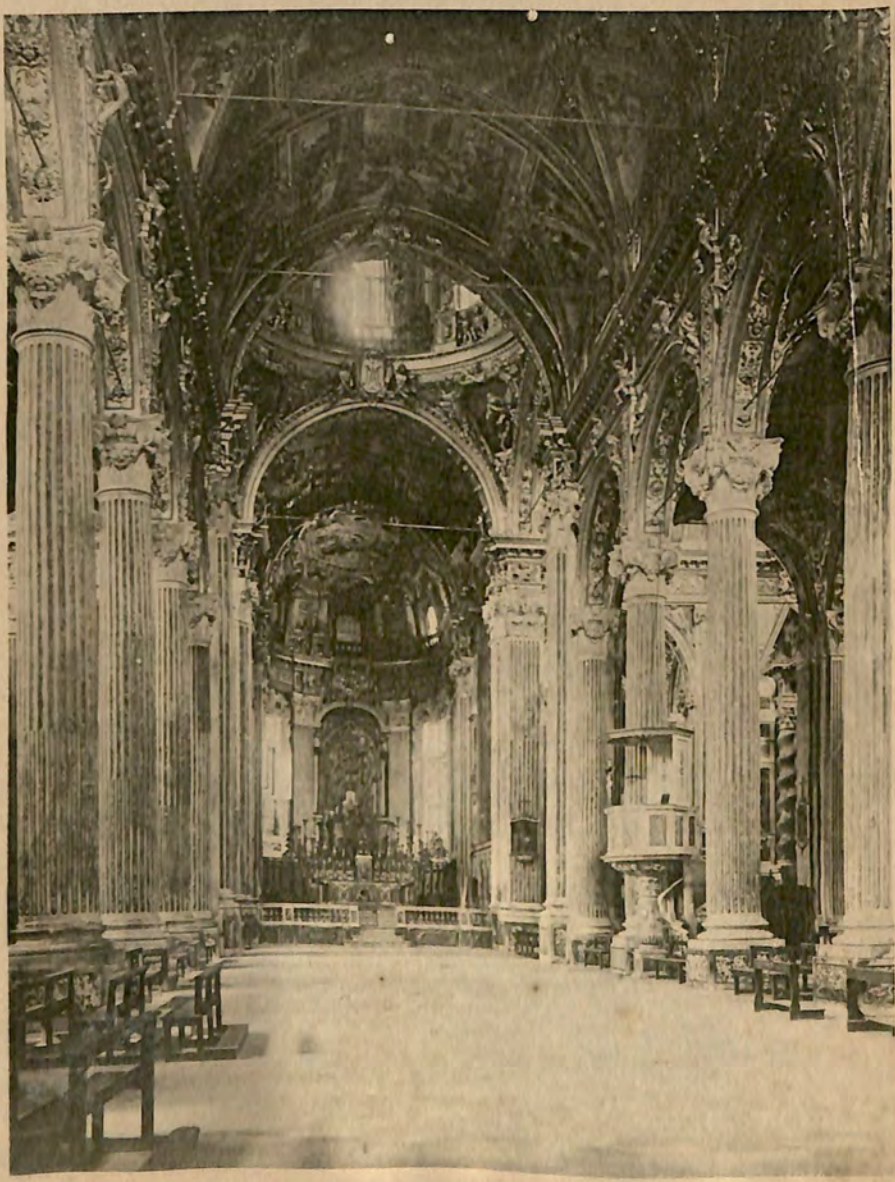
hemispherical form of the dome of the Pantheon; but this was omitted in execution, and Symonds is of opinion that it had been abandoned by Michelangelo himself.* The lantern, which was suggested by that of the Cathedral at Florence, underwent some changes, based on drawings by Vignola. Again the great work suffered suspension for about fifteen years, until the reign of Pope Paul V., which commenced in 1605, and Carlo Maderna, his architect, possibly on account of ecclesiastical prejudice in favour of use and wont, changed the original plan of Michelangelo from a Greek to a Latin cross, and with the existing façade completed the work in 1612, in its exterior aspect at least. Maderna had designed for the angles of the façade, two hexagonal bell towers, in execrable taste; and Bernini, who succeeded, made new designs, and constructed one of them at the south end to a height of about 130 feet. But the substructure cracked and yielded slightly, and while the prudence of proceeding with the work was being considered, the Pope died, and his successor employed his friend Rainaldi as architect, and left the question with him. He from examination of the whole matter, and having no love for Bernini, ordered the work to be taken down; and this was done, although it had cost £23,250 sterling, and nearly £3,000 more was expended to remove it. He then out-Heroded Herod in the barbarity of his designs for this ill-fated campanile, but the death of his Pope and the accession of Alexander VII. deprived him of his influence and office. Bernini was then re-employed, and directed to build the grand colonnade which encircles the great piazza, and the matter of the bell towers fell into abeyance. In this peristyle Bernini suppressed himself and his extravagances in a most commendable way, and has given to St. Peter's a nobler approach than any building in Europe possesses. In the view of the interior of St. Peter's (Plate 35) may be observed at the crossing under the dome the baldachino of Bernini. The twisted pillars have not the merit of originality, for they seem to be taken out of Raffaello's picture of Peter and John at the Gate Beautiful.

The aspect of the Rome of to-day (if we can dismiss from our minds the mass of speculative building erected since 1870) is not greatly different from that of the end of the sixteenth and

* *Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti.*

beginning of the seventeenth centuries, a time of much activity, although the arts were in decadence. To Sixtus V. and Paul V. (1605—21) it owes very many of its characteristic features. It will be quite unnecessary to burden our tale with the long list of architects of that period who have somehow become famous, though executing execrable work; but besides those mentioned in connection with St. Peter's one name stands out prominently, not for the excellence, but for the audacity of his performances. This was Francesco Borromini, a Milanese, and one in whom the uncontrollable energy and fire of the Lombard spirit seems to have burst forth afresh. It is a curious fact that the architects who seem to have been most affected by the oddities of Michelangelo, and who developed this corrupt style, were Lombards, of whom quite a colony worked at Rome, among them the Fontana and Lunghi families, Maderna, Ponzio, and this Borromini; and there can be little doubt that racial tendencies greatly aided in this resurrection of the grotesque in architecture, for so it was. About this period the term *pittoresco* was invented, presumably to describe this depraved style, and picturesque without doubt a good deal of it is. It is said of Borromini's work that "he seems to have gone by contraries; and to give truth the appearance of fiction, and the converse, seems to have been his greatest delight. Thus, for example, to a part or ornament naturally weak he would assign the office of supporting some great weight, while to one actually capable of receiving a great load, he would assign no office whatever." No better description could be given of the characteristics of the work of this man, who of all the bad architects which the times produced was the most illogical, contemptuous of tradition, and impudent. The Church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, and the reconstruction of the interior of San Giovanni in Laterano, are among his productions.

The period between the reigns of the two Popes just mentioned was further distinguished by the erection of numerous obelisks and pillars, as well as the fountain of St. Paul (1611), decorated with pillars (to supply which the ancient temple of Minerva had to be destroyed) and carried out by Maderna and Fontana, with vulgar inscriptions on the glorified parapet and in the lunette of the arch. The reconstruction of the ancient basilica of San Sebastiano (1612), on the Appian Way, is a much more pleasing



INTERIOR OF SANTISSIMA ANNUNZIATA, GENOA.

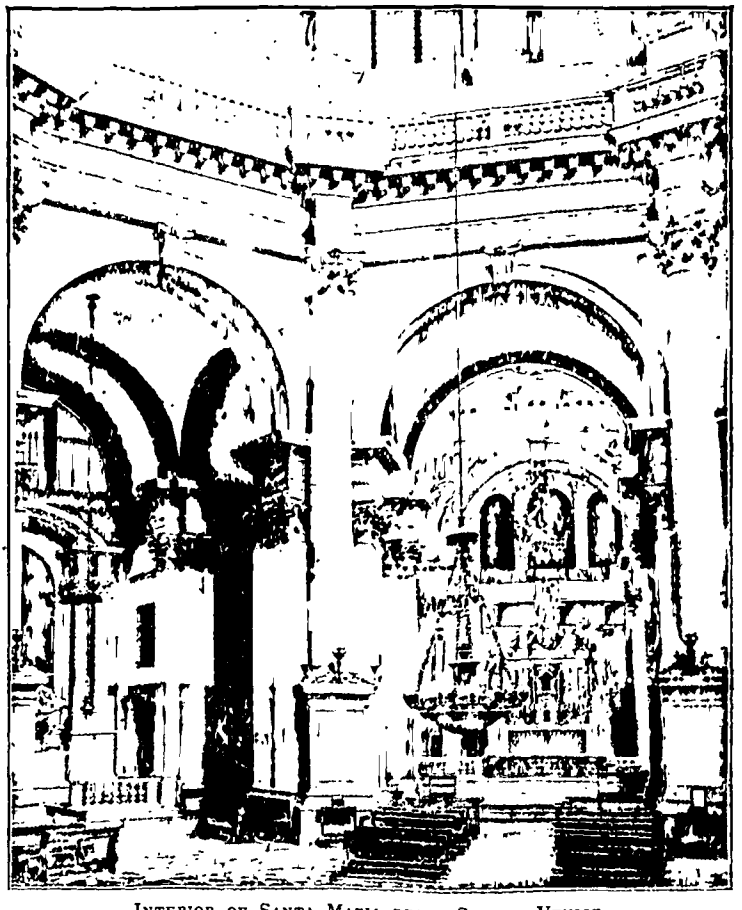
GIACOMO DELLA PORTA *Archt.*

work, the brick front being carried on six antique granite columns, coupled together, and carrying a fragment of entablature to form the impost for an arcade. This arrangement is typical of the period, and superseded in palace cortiles, as at the Borghese, the Roman Colosseum type of the sixteenth century. The second quarter of the eighteenth century saw another brief period of activity in the building art; and at the hands of Alessandro Galilei and Ferdinando Fuga a few great and imposing works were completed. To Galilei Rome owes the great façade of the Church of San Giovanni in Laterano (1734), simply treated and finely proportioned, and much superior to the work of the previous century. Similar in many respects is the portico to the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, by Fuga, about nine years later.

The palaces of Genoa have been much praised, and are said to have earned for that city, as much as its situation, the title of La Superba; but there is scarcely one of them which for good or evil requires illustration here. For most of them Galeazzo Alessi, a pupil of Michelangelo, is responsible. Their best features are the halls and staircases, otherwise they are cold and uninteresting, and do not rank with the work in Venice, or even in Rome of the same period; while no greater misuse of a great opportunity was made than in the case of Alessi's large and finely placed church of Santa Maria in Carignano. But in all Italy there is no finer interior of the late period than the Church of SS. Annunziata (Plate 52) in this city, built at the close of the sixteenth century by Giacomo della Porta. In this building single marble Composite columns of large scale, inlaid on the flutings with another marble, and standing on block pedestals, receive the pier arches without the intervention of entablature; pilasters reach from the capital to the architrave. The roof of the nave is wagon vaulted with smaller transverse vaults in each compartment, and is divided in the decoration into three longitudinal divisions, so that much of the awkwardness of the cross vault is avoided. In general design this is late Roman, of the third or fourth century, which we have already seen to be the character belonging to early Renaissance work. And but for the profiles of some of the mouldings and the nature of the ornament one might be led to classify this as fifteenth century work. It is, however, an entirely exceptional work, an exhibition of individual talent rather than the result of

any school or consecutive development, and in this way more allied to the almost unclassifiable work of modern, or at least recent, times.

Preserving, as far as possible, the chronological order, we return to Venice at the beginning of the seventeenth century.



INTERIOR OF SANTA MARIA DELLA SALUTE, VENICE.
Longhena, Archt.

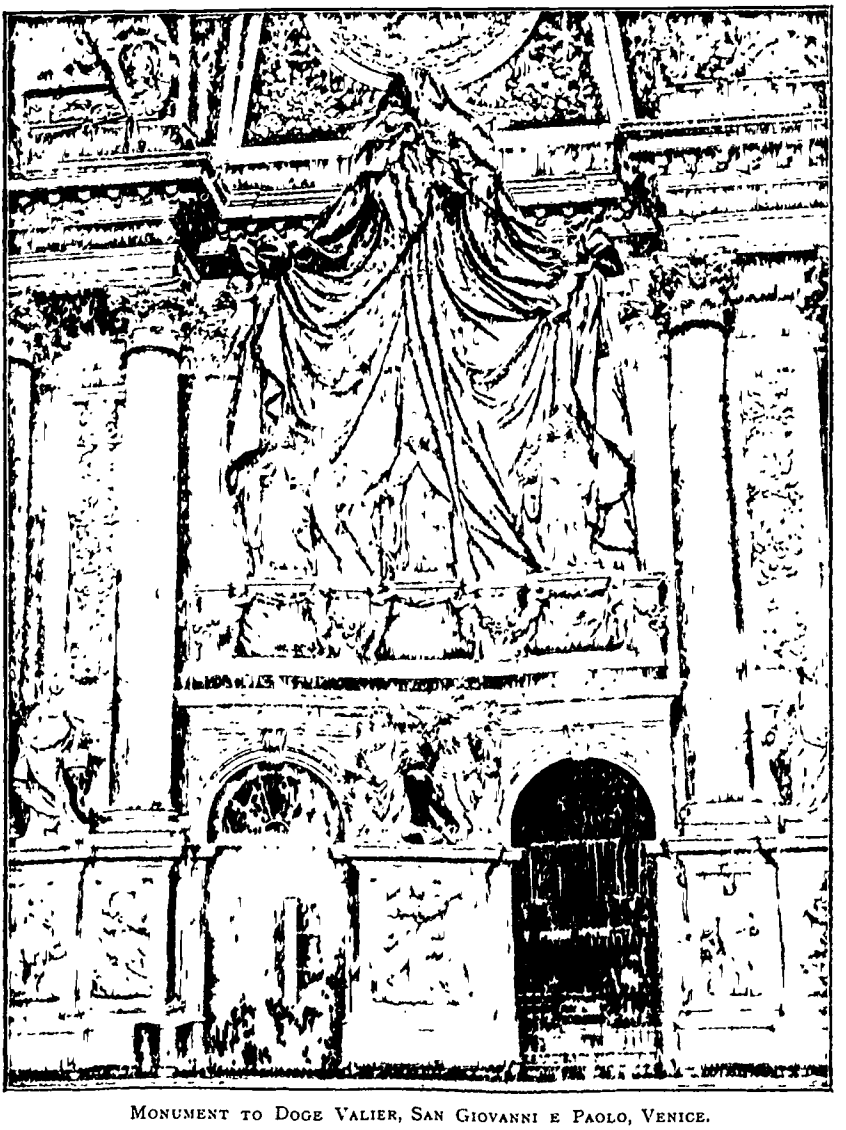
Here we find that after Palladio's death Scamozzi, after completing the church of San Giorgio Maggiore and the theatre at Vicenza, had extended Sansovino's library building (Plates 45, 46) into the Square of St. Mark. On the whole he followed closely Sansovino's lead, and beyond a slight coarsening of the details and sculpture, the two lower storeys of the building (known as the Procuratie Nuove) are the same up

to the frieze. This, in Scamozzi's building, has a scroll ornament, its depth being materially reduced, and an upper storey was added, of the Corinthian order, which possesses neither great merits nor great defects. It is open to the same criticism as the first-floor in having columns of the same order and of different heights, standing on the same level; and had Scamozzi been the genius some authorities make him, he would not so tamely have repeated Sansovino's *motif*, more especially with the lesson set already by his master Palladio in the design for the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore.

The ablest work of the late period in Venice is probably that of Santa Maria della Salute, by Baldassare Longhena. This was erected so late as 1631—82, in token of the cessation of the plague. Its exterior effect is the delight of painters, and a familiar object in most presentations of the scenery of the glorious sea-gate to the presence-chamber of the Queen of the Adriatic. Architecturally few churches of similar extent in any age can rival it. The composition is mainly pyramidal, and the way in which the eye is led up from the irregular shape of the plan to the octagonal drum by the boldly shaped brackets, and from the octagon to the circular dome, evinces great ability and close study on the part of its designer. In the interior handling of the octagon, in place of Giuliano's coupled pilasters or Bramante's angular one, Longhena boldly places a column at each angle with good effect, and raises it on a pedestal to give height for his arches and disconnect the two orders. But the use of the Corinthian pilaster beneath the impost is objectionable, and here demands the employment of coupled pilasters, for it is obvious that there must either be one, as at the Redentore (page 136), or two, as in this instance. A trifling absurdity is the use of the concave abacus of the Corinthian capital over the key-stones.

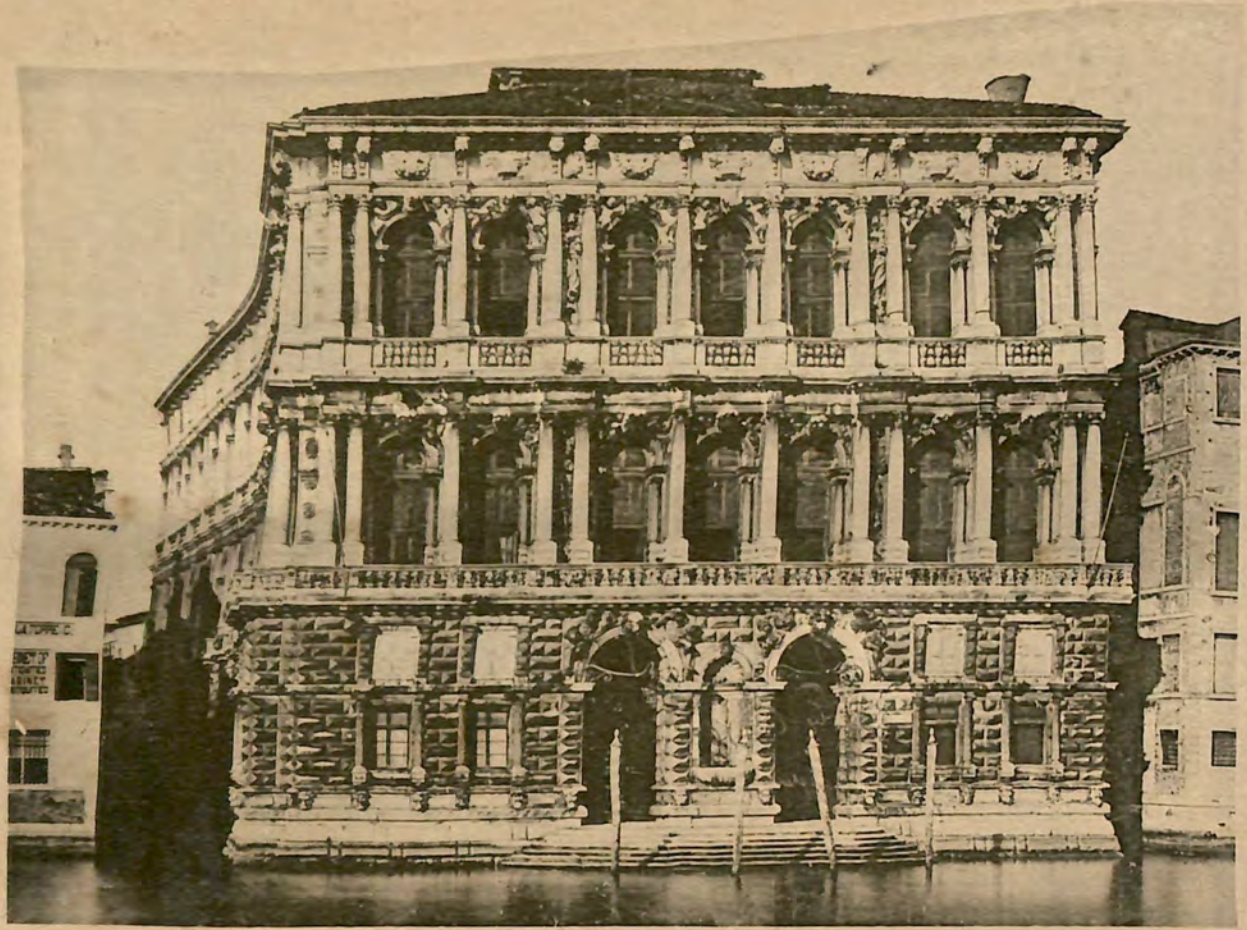
The barocco style, despite its untruthful and unprincipled character, seems to have its uses in expressing ostentation and bombastic pomp, and this we see in the monument of the Doge Valier in San Giovanni e Paolo. The treatment of the pedestals is peculiar, and perhaps in part suggested by the side of Palladio's Prefettizio (Plate 51), where figures stand between the columns in a similar way. The cornice of the pedestals also forms the impost of an arch, as at the Casa del Diavolo

in Vicenza. This tomb (more correctly, entrance to the mausoleum) is an instance of the decadent fashion of using marble in imitation of silk or cloth wherever such material



MONUMENT TO DOGE VALIER, SAN GIOVANNI E PAOLO, VENICE.

can by any possibility be supposed to be displayed, as in the great curtain behind the three worthies, suspended by cherubs in mid-air, and also the smaller coverings of the pedestals on which the chief figures stand.



THE PALAZZO PESARO, VENICE.

BALDASSARE LONGHENA, *Archt.*

The Palazzo Pesaro, on the Grand Canal, presents the richest and grossest development of the Venetian domestic Renaissance, the last word of Italian art. Founded on the Cornaro della Ca' Grande of Sansovino and carried out by Longhena, it is immeasurably inferior technically, although in general distribution and proportion rather more pleasing. The restlessness which characterises the whole, in spite of its sober proportions, is due mainly to the figures, which appear in spasmodic action, but is also contributed to by the broken cornices over each column, and perhaps in some degree by the too boldly projecting, diamond-like, rustication. The treatment of the angles of the building is an exaggeration of Sansovino's oddity in this matter of detail. For, instead of striving after simplicity in things such as these, the architects of the period, devoid of true artistic principles, seized upon the weaknesses and excrescences of the great masters, and endeavoured to develop them into points of interest, or even to raise them to the dignity of features of design.

Speaking generally, it may be said that, although the causes of the decadence were manifold, two tendencies are clearly distinguishable. First, that of the purists, represented chiefly by Vignola and Palladio, bound a little too firmly in ancient usages and regulated by precedent, the result being the coldness and formality that was in a measure common to both. Contemporary with this, but outlasting it, and of wider and more disastrous influence, was the tendency, due in the first instance to Michelangelo's example, of freedom to the verge of licence. Whether out of revolt at the studious correctness of the purists, or want of knowledge or guidance in the laws of taste, there was a failure to appreciate traditional methods and systems of design, especially in regard to their relation to construction. The very purpose and use of features is misunderstood, as in much of Borromini's work, an uncontrolled freedom is indulged in with regard to their application, ornament is constructed for its own sake, instead of being bound up with the architectural lines, and by such freaks and caprices almost every building of the era, though, like some of the Venetian works, not ignoble in composition, is more or less disfigured.

It would be unreasonable as well as futile to attempt any estimate of the value of the Italian architecture in connection with our retrospective view of it. Particular works or methods we have not scrupled to criticise, just as one might the performances of the actors who strut across the stage of history, but the whole movement is as far beyond appraisement or critical judgment as is the larger history of the country itself. It is time to be rational, and to leave off such characterization of Renaissance architecture as a plague or a pestilence, a sham art or a scenic affectation; while, on the other hand, it would be scarcely more conformable to common sense to exult and delight in it after the extravagant fashion of its originators, and the chief performers in the movement, still less to attempt its servile imitation in our time. The most reasonable attitude towards it, as a whole, is the purely historical one, which accepts the fact that the nations of Western Europe were appointed to pass through this phase of intellectual re-birth or awakening, this revival of a pseudo-paganism with all its interwoven good and ill, in order that our present civilization and future forms of culture might be reared upon it, and for purposes not now comprehensible; and which sees in the architecture the most definite expression of the genius of the nation, the most faithful embodiment of its history. If we cannot appraise the history of the era at its full value, perfectly understand its drift, nor see the end from the beginning, neither can we yet realise the ultimate influence of the new direction, the broader view, the grander freedom, which were opened up for art by the Italian revival. For, if things do not happen fortuitously, the larger architectural design is not yet complete.

In thus briefly reviewing the course of Renaissance architecture in Italy, we have seen a style of art arise, grow, flourish, decline, and decay, obeying the immutable law controlling all created things, whether in what we call the natural world, or in the domain of man's intellectual production. But the nature of things that has made of the art manifestations of Greece and Rome and the middle ages, which at their moment of inception

were apparently matters of caprice, accident, or at the most skilled human judgment, permanent facts, moulding the whole course of the art expression of the Western world, continues to operate with cumulative purpose, so that, do what we may, we cannot shake off altogether the abiding influence of the Renaissant arts of Italy. These, however, should be regarded as but the upper portions of the substrata, for ever fixed, on which we or our successors may raise the fabric of the arts of form and design, that shall as truthfully and as beautifully represent the time and circumstances, as the Renaissance architecture portrays the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy. If there be confidence in human progress, advancement in the quality of the intellectual productions is implied, and whatever be the chaos and ruin in which we yet grope, the arts must one day give evidence of that progression. It appears a plain lesson of history that even though at wide intervals, and in favouring circumstances only, man's work may reach the sublime, and may never long retain so much as a touch of perfection, still, once and again, where life is most intense, some luminous path will show itself, which all art shall follow, and architecture be made to serve every high and useful purpose, and invest herself for a delightful season in yet fairer forms.

A LIST OF SELECTED BOOKS

RELATING TO THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

a. HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME.

CELLINI (BENVENUTO).—Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini, a Florentine artist, written by himself; containing a variety of information respecting the arts and the history of the sixteenth century. Translations by T. Roscoe, J. A. Symonds, &c.

MACHIAVELLI (NICCOLO).—The History of Florence, and of the affairs of Italy from the earliest times till the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

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ROSCOE (WILLIAM).—The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth. 1805.

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SYMONDS (JOHN ADDINGTON).—The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti, 1893.

VASARI (GIORGIO).—Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. Translation by Mrs. Jonathan Foster.

b. ILLUSTRATED WORKS ON RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE IN ITALY.

I. GENERAL

OR NOT CHIEFLY CONCERNED WITH THE ILLUSTRATION OF A PARTICULAR PERIOD.

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CICOGNARA (L. CONTE).—Le Fabbriche e i monumenti cospicui di Venezia. 2 vols. Folio. 1858.

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LETAROUILLY (P.).—Le Vatican et la Basilique de Saint Pierre de Rome. 2 vols. Folio. 1882.

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REINHARDT (R.). — Palast-Architektur von Ober-Italien und Toscana.—Genua. Folio. Berlin. 1886.

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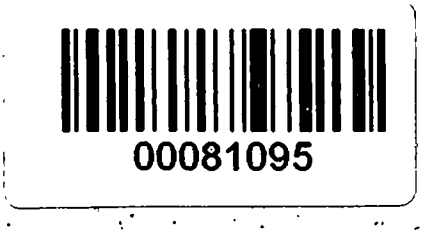
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